8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

411
177

Plate 1: Drawing: Weapons used by Indonesians and later adopted by the Arnhem Land Aborigines. [in color]

[Facing title page A]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
O117 Murngin O117

ARNHEM LAND

000

Its History and Its People

BY
RONALD M. BERNDT
AND
CATHERINE H. BERNDT

F. W. CHESHIRE
MELBOURNE

[title page A]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

First Published 1954

F. W. Cheshire Pty Ltd
338 Little Collins Street, Melbourne C.1

London:
Angus & Robertson Ltd
105 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1

New Zealand:
Angus & Robertson (N.Z.) Ltd
164 Willis Street, Wellington

Berndt, Ronald Murray
Arnhem Land, its history and its people; by Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt.
Melbourne, F. W. Cheshire, [1953]
[5], vii, 243 p. illus. maps. 23 cm.
Bibliography.
1. Acculturation.
2. Australian aborigines. *Northern Territory.*
3. Arnhem Land. *History.*
I. Berndt, Catherine Helen, *joint author.*
II. Title.
572.994295
B524
Catalogued by University of Melbourne Library.

Registered at the G.P.O., Melbourne for transmission by post as a book

Wholly set up and printed in Australia by The Hawthorn Press Pty Ltd, Melbourne

[title page B]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

000

TO

PROFESSOR A. P. ELKIN

[title page C]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

000

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Foreword	v
1	Background	1
2	The Arnhem Land Aborigines	6
3	Alien Contact in North-Eastern Arnhem Land	14
4	Alien Contact in Western Arnhem Land	26
5	The Pre-Macassans	32
6	The Coming of the Macassans	40
7	To the Western Isles	49
8	Macassar	56
9	The Widening World	64
10	The Macassans on the North Coast	72
11	Europeans on the North Coast	91
12	Macassan Murders	110
13	European Killings	123
14	The Woodah Island Murders	134
15	The Japanese Murders	153
16	The Caledon Bay Killings	164
17	Aftermath	177
18	The Present Day	188
	Postscript	202
	References	204
	Index	231

[title page D]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

ILLUSTRATIONS

000

Plate 1 (in colour): Swords and knives used by Indonesians on the North Australian mainland, and later adopted by the Aborigines . . . . . Frontispiece

From top to bottom: djaking or *kaluna, djili, badang, badi, dalpanga, badang, djaking* (bottom one). See descriptions in Chapter 6: the drawing is by Mauwulan.

FACING PAGE

Plate 2: Port Bradshaw, north-eastern Arnhem Land, at its hey-day when it was an important Indonesian settlement: drawn by Mauwulan on brown paper with lumber crayons 20

The main settlement is on the central island, named Wopalinga: stilted huts, pottery, tamarind and mangrove trees are drawn here, together with paddles, and ashes from the fires used for curing the trepang. In the bay are Macassan praus, some in full sail and others at anchor. All around the port various sites are drawn, each with its special name; and immediately opposite the island (that is, at the top of the photograph) is a drawing of the Ancestral Being Djanggawul. He holds sacred *rangga* emblems, and beside him are sacred *dua* moiety clan patterns. The port is rich in story and myth. In the right-hand lower corner is a creek associated with the Baijini, and in the upper part of the left-hand side is a tall masted boat representing Fred Gray's *Oinuli*, which sailed into this harbour.

Plate 3: Wonggu, a Djabu-speaking man, at Yirrkalla. (See Chapter 16) 21

Plate 4a: Oenpelli Hill, with Gunbalanja billabong: western Arnhem Land 54

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

800

FACING PAGE

Plate 4b: Towering rocks behind Oenpelli Mission station: most of these hills contain galleries of cave paintings, discovered by McKinlay in 1866 54

Plate 5: Melville Bay in north-eastern Arnhem Land during Indonesian contact: a brown paper crayon drawing by Mauwulan, of the Riradjingu language group 55

Praus are sailing in the large harbour, and various Macassan settlements are shown on the shores. Islands are scattered here and there, with a central "peninsula" which was the principal residential area of the traders. This "peninsula," with huts and pottery, was originally an island, but in recent years a causeway has been built across to it from the mainland. Along with these Indonesian sites are others that belonged to the Baijini and the Ancestral Beings (that is, totemic places). (See Chapter 6.)

Plate 6: Mauwulan, a Riradjingu-speaking man, at Yirrkalla 86

Plate 7: The Port of Macassar and its immediate vicinity. The central circle represents an island, surrounded by hills where the *wuramu* "Collection" people live (see Chapter 8) 87

Within the circle are shown European men and women, and stilted houses. At the top of the drawing, within the circle, are the *wuramu* coming down to sack and pillage the houses. The top part of the drawing depicts Macassan sailors and their ships at the wharfs of the port. All the surrounding spaces and the rest of the drawing refer to specific places in and around Macassar. The artist is Munggeraui, a Gumaidj-speaking man.

Plate 8a: Naburdja, a Maralba-speaking woman, at Yirrkalla; a wife of Djirin (see below) and a daughter of Mundugrul 118

Plate 8b: Djirin, a Djabu-speaking man, at Yirrkalla; a son of Wonggu (see Plate 3). See Chapter 15 118

Plate 9: A *wuramu* "Collection" ceremony for a dead man: this particular scene took place at Port Bradshaw . . 119

The bottom left-hand panel shows whistling trees with dancing men: other men are dancing in the upper left-hand panel.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

FACING PAGE

080

In the bottom right-hand panel (near the central dividing line) is the *wuramu* carved wooden post, held by men on each side: there are also dancing and singing men, and a man playing the didjeridoo. The top right-hand panel shows the actual burial scene. The *wuramu* figure in this case represents the spirit of the dead man. Drawn by the Gunaidj-speaking artist, Bununggu. See Chapter 8.

Plate 10: A Macassan trepang site on Australian mainland 156

The right-hand side of the drawing depicts trepang pots, and ashes from the curing fires, with track marks between the pot arrangements. At the top right-hand side is a trepang lifting "spoon" (resembling a tennis racket). The central design shows a stilted hut. On the left-hand side, from bottom to top, are bottles of grog, bamboo lengths containing liquid, an axe, and various knives – the *barang*, *djaking* and *djili*. The drawing is by Mauwulan. See Chapter 6.

Plate 11: Bulaninda, a Djabu-speaking girl, married to Wokudi; she is a daughter of Dagiar (Tuckiar). See Chapter 14 151

Plate 12a: A Macassan boat with mast, rigging and sails. One looks down into its hull, where bags of rice, wrapped in lily grass fibre mats, liquid honey in bamboo containers, coconuts and pots of arrack are stored. This brown paper drawing was done by Mauwulan. See Chapter 7 182

Plate 12b: Japanese luggers off Cape Stewart, west of Milingimbi Mission Station: photograph taken about 1939 . . 182

Plate 13: Various articles that were introduced by the Indonesians, and brought on their praus to the Australian mainland 183

From bottom to top: Pots and jug; matchlock guns, single and double-barrelled; iron bucket and cauldron (with legs). Immediately above the double-barrelled gun is a row of coloured plates, followed by boxes in which gun-powder is kept. Then comes another row of bowls, and wooden boxes for tobacco, with "writing" or designs on their outside; then pots and jars with wine and arrack, cooking utensils, basins,

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

000

FACING PAGE

cups and fireworks (used during festivals). The drawing is by Mauwulan. See Chapter 10.

Plate 14a: The Methodist Mission lugger *Aroetta* being unloaded on the beach at Elcho Island. See Chapter 17 214

Plate 14b: The Yirrkalla Mission settlement of native huts, planned by the Fijian missionary and erected in 1947. See Chapter 17 214

Plate 15a: A ritualised "peace-making" ceremony or *magareda*, held at Yirrkalla. Two groups of men are ranged opposite each other, with spears raised 215

Plate 15b: Part of a canoe from "Badu," washed up on the beach at Rocky Bay, near Yirrkalla. See Chapter 9 215

Map One: Arnhem Land and its immediate vicinity Endpaper

Map Two: The World of the Arnhem Landers, at the close of Indonesian Contact . 39

Remarks Concerning Illustrations:

Plates 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12a and 13 are reproduced from the original brown paper drawings done by various Aboriginal artists at Yirrkalla, north-eastern Arnhem Land. Lumber crayons were used, instead of ochres: the drawings vary in size from two and a half feet to four or five feet in length, one and a half feet in width. They were kindly photographed by Mr S. Woodward-Smith of the University of Sydney.

Plate 12b is from the original negative kindly lent by Mr H. Shepherdson of the Elcho Island Methodist Mission Station.

All other photographs were taken on the field by the writers.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

FOREWORD

This book was planned to throw additional light on a little-known country – Arnhem Land, in the north-eastern corner of the Northern Territory of Australia.

We are concerned principally with the Aboriginal inhabitants of the coastal areas, and with the different forms of alien contact to which they have been subjected from the past up to the present day. Our intention has been to place in perspective the historical sequence of conditions in this region, relating these to the life and thought of the indigenous population.

We see the world of the Arnhem Landers gradually widening through the years, from the period when the coast was visited by what we now term Ancestral and Spirit Beings to the time of the pre-Macassans, followed by the Indonesians, Europeans and Japanese. It is a panoramic conception; for no other Aboriginal group in Australia has been subjected to such varied, and at times intensive, cultural impact as have these Arnhem Landers. The most remarkable result has been their ability to maintain throughout this intercourse so much of their cultural and moral integrity.

The greater part of this book has been compiled from data obtained during our own anthropological field research in Arnhem Land; these were supplemented by documentary material from official and unofficial European sources. Thus we may see the point of view of the Aborigines on the one hand, and of the alien "intruders" on the other.

We have purposely not included a detailed account of the indigenous native society and culture, because to do this satisfactorily would involve a far more elaborate discussion than is possible here. The reader particularly interested in this aspect will find a brief description of the cultural background, and something of the traditional life of the Arnhem Landers, in Chapter 2:

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

here the main purpose has been to create a basis for our study. Many other aspects, too, need more detailed treatment – for example, the period of pre-Macassan to Macassan contact (see Chapters 5 to 10), Europeans on the north coast (Chapter 11), and conditions during the present day (Chapters 17 to 18). Nor have we attempted to discuss native policy in general, in relation to Arnhem Land and its people. This is a book about the Arnhem Land coast, its natives, and its contact through the centuries with peoples of differing cultures. We see the Arnhem Landers' adjustment to the first waves of Indonesian association, and their consequent "unsettlement" when this form of contact was upset by the infiltration of other groups: conditions altered rapidly, and the Aborigines found themselves unable to grapple successfully with their changing circumstances.

Within this picture are a multitude of experiences expressed in a variety of ways – the Aborigines' association with Indonesian traders, their journeys to the East India Archipelago, their intercourse with Torres Strait Islanders, Japanese, and Europeans, and their constant endeavour to maintain their cultural independence and to defend their territory against the inroads of these visitors. It was this which led to the spearings and "massacres" described in the main body of this book, activities which today we would term a form of guerilla warfare. The whole history of a people's contact with the outside world over many centuries is condensed into a few Chapters of this book: and though some of their experiences may seem to us bizarre and exotic, to the Aborigines of Arnhem Land they were, even if at times unexpected, part of the tapestry of everyday life.

Much of the material in this book was obtained during our anthropological research work in western, north-eastern and eastern Arnhem Land between the years 1946-47 and 1949-50. This followed previous research in other parts of the Northern Territory in 1944-46, which in turn was a continuation of a study made in north-western, middle-north and southern South Australia in 1939-44. The greater part of this work was carried out under the auspices of the Australian National Research Council in conjunction with the Department of Anthropology, Sydney

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

FOREWORD

University. Between the years 1944-46, however, we were engaged as anthropologists to study native welfare on certain Northern Territory pastoral stations and Army native settlements. The writing and preparation of this book, like our most recent Arnhem Land trip, was made possible by research grants from the Research Committee of the University of Sydney. 122

We wish to acknowledge the continued help and advice of Professor A. P. Elkin of the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, to whom this book is dedicated, as well as the courtesy and helpfulness of the Northern Territory Department of Native Affairs, the officials of the South Australian Archives Department of the Public Library, and the staffs of the Methodist and Church Missionary Society stations in Arnhem Land. Our deep sense of gratitude to the Arnhem Landers themselves, particularly those at Yirrkalla, Goulburn Islands and Oenpelli, cannot be expressed in mere words. Perhaps one day, when competent schools have been established in Arnhem Land, the literate among these people will read with interest this history of their people's contact with alien groups. In this way they will receive some compensation and, in some slight degree, our debt to them will be honoured. 800

RONALD M. BERNDT
CATHERINE H. BERNDT

Department of Anthropology
Sydney University

[p. viii is blank]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

Arnhem Land, through the centuries, has attracted to its shores a variety of both Asiatic and European voyagers, some interested in exploration for its own sake, and some for economic or commercial reasons. Between the middle of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, this northern part of Australia became known to the Western World through the discoveries of the Dutch and Portuguese.[1] Considerably earlier, however, the coastal regions of Arnhem Land had been visited regularly by Indonesian traders. The date of their first arrival has not been definitely established: but we can make tentative suggestions, based on the traditional records which the Arnhem Land natives have handed down from one generation to another.

In addition to this fairly intensive contact over a long period, Arnhem Land became comparatively well-known during the last phase of Malay-Macassan association with our north coast, and during the exploration of certain English voyagers just before and during the establishment of European settlements.

Later on came the attempted European settlement of this part of the Northern Territory, and the exploitation of its waters for marine products. Japanese and other Asiatics, as well as Europeans, took part in pearling operations; and Christian Mission stations were gradually established at various places all round the Arnhem Land coast. Today only the Missions remain. The whole vast region of Arnhem Land, some 31,200 square miles, is now an Aboriginal Reserve.

In this study of Arnhem Land, we shall see how events fall into their proper historical perspective, from the earliest known

8; Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

period to the present day. We shall follow the contact of the Aborigines with alien peoples, review the repercussions, and notice something of the effects upon their traditional culture.

The Arnhem Land Reserve, one of the largest in Australia, stretches east and south-east of Darwin in the Northern Territory, across to the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The mangrove-lined coast on the north faces the Arafura Sea, separating Australia from the densely populated islands of Indonesia and New Guinea; and adjacent to it, running from west to east, are the islands of Croker, Goulburn, Wessel and Bremer (once Melville). Into the sea here and there flow large rivers, which further inland are usually banked by thick jungles of cypress, gum, stringy-bark, wild fig, bamboo, cycad, screw-palm (pandanus), and many other trees and bushes known only to the botanist and native. And tidal salt-water creeks flow among the mangroves, the home of sea-birds, crocodiles and sharks.

On the east the same almost monotonous coast-line fronts the Gulf of Carpentaria, dotted with such islands as Woodah and Bickerton, Winchelsea and Connexion, close to Groote Eylandt.

This great Reserve is bordered on the south by the Roper River; and on the west a natural boundary of rocky hills and sandstone halts the encroaches of the buffalo hunter, who has established himself on the fertile plains and swamps around the Adelaide, Mary and Alligator rivers. In the heart of Arnhem Land, gorges, mountains, swamps and rocky plains spread through country still partially unexplored.

Scattered through the Reserve are Mission settlements controlled by the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Overseas Mission—Oenpelli, Croker Island (a "Half-Caste" settlement), South Goulburn Island, the Crocodile Islands (Milingimbi), Elcho Island, Yirrkalla, Groote Eylandt, and Roper River. To the south-west, Beswick Government Cattle Station and Maranboy Reserve can barely be said to be in Arnhem Land properly. Near the western border of Arnhem Land, in the so-called "Buffalo country", are two unoccupied Aboriginal Reserves, the Manasi and Woolwonga; and on the south, the attraction of neighbouring cattle stations (such as Mainoru and Roper Valley) has contributed to the decline of the local population.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

BACKGROUND

Once the term "Arnhem Land" was applied to the whole region east of Daly River, including the area about Darwin and Katherine, Melville and Bathurst Islands, and the "Buffalo country";[2] but since the Aboriginal Reserve was established, the name has been restricted to this.

All through this region, except in parts of the interior, there is no scarcity of food. In the rivers are fresh-water fish, goannas and crocodiles, in the sea and coastal bays many varieties of fish, shell-fish, turtle, dugong and (rarely) whales. At certain seasons the swamps and rivers, streams, waterholes and jungles, teem with wild fowl; eggs are plentiful, and (according to the time of the year) there is a choice of duck, goose, tern (or sea-gull), crocodile, turtle, emu and jungle fowl. Inland and along the coast there is an abundance of meat — kangaroo, wallaby, opossum, bandicoot, porcupine and edible reptiles. Moreover there are introduced water-buffalo, which abound in western Arnhem Land, and are seen today as far east as Yirrkalla, near Cape Arnhem.

Wild honey, fruits, berries, seeds, nuts and vegetable foods such as yam and lily roots and green lily stems, are available in season. And at the tail end of the monsoonal period the sea brings to this coast, particularly on the north-east, large supplies of drifting coconut and other edible nuts.

This, then, is roughly the position of the Arnhem Land Reserve, and it is upon the natural products of this country that the Aboriginal inhabitants have in the past primarily depended. Today, however, the Aborigine does not rely solely on his environment for subsistence. Long years of alien contact have developed in him a desire for introduced goods, a desire which was fulfilled to some extent when the Mission stations were established.

In order to examine the picture more closely, and to see the events presented in some historical sequence, we shall concentrate on the northern and eastern coast of Arnhem Land, and the adjacent islands within the Reserve. This coast-line and these islands experienced alien contact much earlier than did the inland boundaries, along the Roper River and the "Buffalo" plains. The actual interior of the Reserve, except for the bush country towards the Rose River in the south-east, the Arafura and Milin-

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

121 gimbi in the north, and the Liverpool River country behind Oenpelli in the west and south-west, seems to be virtually uninhabited.

161 Although Arnhem Land covers a large area, its population has been assessed at only about four thousand. This includes Aborigines on Mission stations, where tentative census figures are available, while in regions away from direct supervision only approximate estimates have been made. There are only three large un-contacted areas in the whole of Arnhem Land: about the Liverpool and King rivers, and the mainland south of Milingimbi; the neighbourhood of Rose River; and the hills in the south-western corner of Arnhem Land. However, it is only in the first two places that Aborigines are to be found in any numbers, and both together probably contain no more than about a thousand people. These Liverpool groups have been gradually [166] displaced, within recent years, by the westward pressure of people from Cape Stewart and the south of Milingimbi, and many of them forced to fluctuate between Goulburn Islands, Oenpelli and the Buffalo camps. They would number today no more than approximately four hundred.

. . . . .

114 This area, from Rose River in the south to Goulburn Island and Oenpelli in the west, has been mentioned in early literature, particularly by such travellers as Sir Mathew Flinders and Phillip King;[3] and in recent years various authors such as Ion Idriess,[4] Charles Barrett,[5] W. E. Harney,[6] Alan Marshall,[7] Carl Warburton,[8] Ernestine Hill,[9] Colin Simpson[10] and Clyde Fenton[11] have tended to over-glamorise Arnhem Land and its people.

The most important and detailed information concerning the historical and geographical background of Arnhem Land is not generally accessible,[12] although Alfred Searcy[13] provides some valuable notes and reminiscences. But despite some interesting references to the contact of Europeans with natives, these books and notes concern themselves very little with the local people and their lives.

Missionaries too have helped to add to the existing documentary evidence.[14] Professor Lloyd Warner[15] carried out social

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

anthropological work in the Milingimbi region, and Dr Donald Thomson mainly in the Caledon Bay district,[16] and while Sir Baldwin Spencer[17] worked with natives on the fringe of western Arnhem Land, Professor A. P. Elkin has carried out field work principally in south-western Arnhem Land. 114

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

CHAPTER 2

THE ARNHEM LAND ABORIGINES

142 Who are the people of Arnhem Land? What is the pattern of their life, the background against which these events took place?

The physical characteristics of the Australian Aborigines as a whole are well known – their chocolate-brown skin, wavy hair, slightly prognathoid features and rather broad nostrils. The people of the Arnhem Land coast show some differences from those of the immediate inland and of the centre. Food of all kinds is more plentiful, and fresh water easier to find; and so they are rather more solidly built, with heavier legs and broader shoulders than the "desert" natives. Their skin appears to be darker, al- [144] though here and there are lighter individuals who show the influence of part-Malayan or Macassan descent. Generally speak- [152] ing, they are lively and excitable and show emotion more readily 578 than their southern neighbours; all along this coast the tribes have a long history of "blood feuds", kept up between one family and another, or among various clans. They prefer to dispose of their enemies by open killings rather than by the secret work of magical spells – although these too, it is said, are freely employed.

185 Since on this fertile coast the Aborigines do not have to exert themselves quite so strenuously as those in more barren and inhospitable regions, they can devote more time to material culture – to weapons, cave and bark paintings, and a wide range of sacred objects. For this reason, too, we find numbers of clan and tribal groups within a comparatively small area. Tribal territories are more restricted than in the semi-desert areas where men and women must be almost continuously on the move in their search for food.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

THE ARNHEM LAND ABORIGINES

Arnhem Land belongs to two main groups, who differ considerably insofar as language and certain aspects of their culture are concerned. Perhaps the best way to present a clear general picture of their culture patterns is to outline and contrast the elements that are outstanding in both. For the sake of brevity we shall not digress to discuss minor local deviations like those of the Groote Eylandt and Rose River areas.

A common cultural bond links most of the Aborigines of western Arnhem Land, taking Oenpelli, the Goulburn Islands, and the Liverpool and King rivers, with its eastern boundary near Cape Stewart; but there are some traditional deviations, as well as some linguistic differences. The Maung of Goulburn Islands seem to have been at one period more or less isolated from contact with the mainlanders, who rarely came over to the islands; but at ceremonial times the Maung would come to Sandy Creek, on the mainland opposite South Goulburn Island, for the big *maraiin* (sacred) rituals.

The people of eastern Arnhem Land, from Cape Stewart to Blue Mud Bay, refer to themselves as the Wulamba group, a number of clans that form a "tribe" with more or less common cultural background. Natives outside this region, for example those at Groote Eylandt, often call them the "Balamumu Confederacy". "Balamumu" may be roughly translated as "those of the sea", that is, coastal people. The dialects of all these clans may be classed together as Miwoidj'mada. The whole eastern area is divided among a number of clans, some now extinct and others seriously diminished in population, which share certain linguistic groups. These language groups are considered most important, and they belong exclusively to either the *dua* or the *jiritja* moiety, a division which extends throughout this whole area. Descent within them is patrilineal, but a man (or woman) always feels some attachment to the clan and linguistic group of his mother and mother's brother.

In western Arnhem Land, tribes and groups of tribes are (or were) independent units, not subdivided into clans. Tribal blocs were formed by those dependent on their neighbours in matters affecting economy, marriage and secular and sacred ceremony, and certain tribes recognised closer ties with one another than

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

619 with other adjacent groups. On the border line between western
184 and eastern Arnhem Land there are tribes affiliated with the eastern people, but retaining their own distinct cultural pattern. Apart from the linguistic variations between the eastern and western groups, and the tribal organisation of the one and the clan-linguistic group set-up of the other, the principal difference
[611] lies in the eastern form of mainly patrilineal descent and the western pattern of descent through the mother.

184 The moiety is the most important feature in the social organ-
616 isation of the Wulamba people of the east and south-east. It serves to classify under these two main headings all clans and linguistic groups, the known universe, and the whole life of the people, and affiliates all those belonging to the same moiety. The moieties are exogamous, and are thus the basis upon which marriage rules depend.

184 In western Arnhem Land we find the moiety-phratry arrange-
615 ment (related to the totem) now influenced from the south by
616 the subsection system, which is widely spread throughout Aboriginal Australia. Another feature here is the *namanamaidj*,
611 which establishes a child's affinity with his father's group. This, together with tribal and linguistic membership, is patrilineal;
[617] but the descent of the moiety, phratry (and totem), and subsection, is matrilineal.

184 In eastern Arnhem Land the subsections have not yet been
617 fully co-ordinated with the kinship structure, and many of the older people do not use them. Normally, however, the sub-
601 sections are based on a system of marriage and descent, and are essentially a matter of kinship organisation. They group various relatives together under one term, in such a way that for general purposes all kinship terms are reduced to eight; and since there are eight divisions in this subsection system, four belong to one moiety, and four to the other.[1]

221 The eastern Arnhem Landers possess certain fundamental features in common with most other Australian Aboriginal communities. Away from European settlements, for instance, they are hunters and collectors who must forage for their food. On
221 the northern and eastern coast of Arnhem Land food is certainly
796 abundant and varied, but its constant supply depends on the
716

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

rhythm of the seasons and (so these people believe) on the mythical characters of the "Eternal Dreaming" period. To ensure an adequate and constant supply of animal and vegetable food the eastern Arnhem Landers rely on their great ceremonial cycles – the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi*, *ngurlmag*, and the *dua* and *jiritja* moiety *nara*. These rituals are connected with the most important Ancestral Beings (like Djanggawul, Wauwalak, Laindjung, Banaidja and Baijini) and serve as the basis of the indigenous religion.

In the west the pattern is much the same. The Ancestral or Spirit Beings have different names, but their function is similar to that of their eastern variants. There is, for instance, a Fertility Mother named Amungundji, or Waramurunggoindju. With her husband, Wuraggag, she is the guardian of and the essence behind all the sacred ritual, such as the *maraiin*, and the age-grading *ubar* ceremonies. The ceremonies have also a mass of separate mythology, associated with Jurawadpad, the Snake man, but they are indirectly associated with the Fertility Mother.

All this ritual, however, is not concerned merely with the provision of food. Its purpose is primarily to ensure the continuation of the human species, and the increase of all other animals, birds, fish, vegetables and so on is a secondary matter. It is concerned with the fructification of all living things, of which human beings (in their own estimation, at least) are the most important.

We cannot discuss here even briefly the doctrines and ritual expressions of the various religious cults of western and eastern Arnhem Land: for although a fundamental thesis is common to them all, there are many local manifestations. That is to say, there are a number of different religious cults, each having its special mythology associated with Creative Beings; and their ceremonies, although often similar, differ in many respects. Some are concerned principally with the initiation of youths into the adult ceremonial sphere, and their gradual acceptance into the realm of the sacred. As a young man grows older, and passes through successive stages in his initiation, the religious life of his elders is slowly revealed to him. These particular series are termed age-grading rituals. But there are other ceremonies in which only fully initiated men may participate, and whose significance is

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

simply religious. Women too have their part – and a vital one – to play in the ritual life.

In eastern Arnhem Land, the most important of all rituals relate to the Djanggawul, a Brother and two Sisters and their companion who in the mythological era came across the sea from an unidentified country far to the north-east. On their journey (so the long song-cycle relates) they stayed for a time at an island called Bralgu, later the home of the *dua* moiety dead, located somewhere beyond Groote Eylandt. Then, on the shining path first of the Morning Star and presently of the rising Sun, they travelled in their bark canoe to land at Port Bradshaw on the Arnhem Land coast. With them they brought their special sacred objects. The Djanggawul Brother had long painted and feathered poles, of phallic significance. Some he plunged into the ground so that water gushed forth; and others, when planted, sprang into living trees. These life-giving sticks were kept hidden for much of the time in a plaited conical mat, a symbolic uterus.

As they travelled, the Sisters gave birth to many people (symbolised, again, by the sacred poles). These were the ancestors of the present-day Aborigines, for before the Djanggawul came there were only spirit beings in Arnhem Land.

At first, we are told, the Sisters alone possessed all the sacred objects, the rituals and songs, which they had brought with them from their distant homeland: the symbols they used, and their actions in dancing, centred about the important cycle of sexual intercourse, pregnancy, and birth. The Djanggawul Brother and his companion had nothing. One day therefore, while the women were out collecting shellfish, the men stole the sacred objects and took them back to their own camp, and there they began the special dancing and singing. But the Sisters, when they discovered their loss, did not protest very strongly. Now, they agreed, the men could attend to the rituals on their behalf, doing most of the "work", while they themselves devoted more time to raising their families (in the way of Fertility Mothers).

This division still holds in the eastern Arnhem Land today, where women play a less active rôle in sacred ritual than do their menfolk. Today, too, replicas of their sacred objects are treated reverently, and surrounded with ritual and symbolism. The long

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

poles, painted with conventional designs and hung with vividly-feathered strings, are stored in a special hut on the sacred dancing ground. From this hut, the uterus, men emerge with them to posture and dance, while women also dance in the main camp: and the ceremonies of this cycle conclude with an elaborate bathing ritual in which both men and women take part.

The Djanggawul rituals belong to the *dua* moiety. People of the *jiritja* moiety have some share in them through their mothers and mothers' brothers; but they have their own ceremonies and beliefs as well. Laindjung, a counterpart to the Djanggawul but much less important, also came out of the sea to the Arnhem Land coast from somewhere away to the east, and through his son Banaidja established his mythology and rituals. Many such Ancestral or Spirit Beings are said to have reached the north coast of Australia by sea (see Chapter 5), and perhaps beliefs of this sort reflect some early experiences of alien contact, or some incidents which served as focal points for the diffusion of alien ideas. In western Arnhem Land, too, mythology reveals a strong alien orientation—although this feature may have been superimposed in later years as a result of Indonesian intrusion. Thus the great mother Waramurunggoindju and her husband Wuraggag (now the landmark Tor Rock), like Jurawadpad and most of their contemporaries, landed at various places on the Coburg Peninsula after travelling from some far island identified, today, as "Macassar".

Nevertheless, there has been inland influence as well. The Djanggawul *nara* ceremonies, shorn of much of their mythological significance, have spread right across to the borders of Western Arnhem Land. The two Wauwalak Sisters came overland from the south to the northern Arnhem Land coast, where they inspired the three age-grading ceremonies: the *djunggawon*, associated with circumcision, and known but not performed in western Arnhem Land (where most of the tribes are non-circumcising); the *kunapipi*, more recently introduced into eastern Arnhem Land; and the *ngurlmag*, rarely performed today, with its probable origin the *ubar* hollow-log initiation rituals of western Arnhem Land. The Kunapipi has been introduced into

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
O117 Murngin O117

western Arnhem Land, too, coming up from the south and the south-east almost to the coast near Goulburn Islands.

The north-eastern people, like their western neighbours, pay great attention to the outward expression of their religious ideas, to provide a guide to ritual behaviour and to impress certain concepts on the minds of postulants. Their sacred objects do not consist only of those introduced by Djanggawul, Laindjung and other Beings. In the *nara* and other rituals many beautifully made *rangga* are used, some associated with natural species or with totemic features, others with human organs and ancestral people. Usually conventionalised, they are made from hard or soft woods, cane or paperbark, sometimes bound with jungle-tree twine, and decorated with clan totemic designs and colourful feathered strings. Human figures carved from blocks of wood are painted and ornamented in a similar way. Many other sacred objects are used in the Wauwalak ceremonies – the *ubar* drum of the *ngurlmag*, for example, the tall grass-bound *Jelmalandji* posts of the *kunapipi*, and the long *julunggul* "trumpets" and dancing posts of the *djunggawon*. In western Arnhem Land, religious feeling finds concrete expression in the varied shapes and designs of the *maraiin* objects, which include representations of birds and animals. Their form and workmanship are usually pleasing to the eye, but to the craftsman this is of secondary importance.[2]

Let us summarise the place of indigenous religion among the people of Arnhem Land.

In Aboriginal societies throughout Australia, this religious faith has been the mainstay of social life, giving meaning and background to behaviour patterns and institutions. Most people believed unquestioningly in the essential "rightness" of their way of life. Everything was explained, each member of the community had a definite place in the scheme of things, and the future was well determined.

Today, however, the Aborigines find that conditions are rapidly changing. The pressure of contact is greater now than it has been in the past. Beliefs that they have held for centuries are being questioned, and new ways and ideas are being enforced.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

The old ceremonies, with their cycles of songs, are not performed so frequently, and the sacred objects are beginning to lose their significance. The religion and mythology which once held together all aspects of Aboriginal life are being weakened, and the traditional code no longer serves as a basis for the patterning of their lives. Instead the Aborigine is coming to rely more and more constantly on introduced criteria and beliefs, but because the change has been comparatively sudden he cannot adjust himself immediately to them, and so they fail to satisfy his needs.

We have referred more specially to the religion and associated beliefs of these Arnhem Landers, because no other aspect of their life expresses more fully the vividness and depth of their indigenous behaviour and thought. There are many other important elements in the Aboriginal cultures of Arnhem Land. Some will make their appearance in later Chapters, while the reader interested to learn more is referred to the anthropological works already mentioned. Our main purpose here has been to provide a cultural setting for our study of "outside" contact on the north coast of Arnhem Land. This, then, is the fundamental background of these Aboriginal societies which took the impact of contact, over a long period, with alien peoples.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

CHAPTER 3

ALIEN CONTACT IN NORTH-EASTERN ARNHEM LAND

177 Here, and in the following Chapter, we shall summarise broadly the alien contact that has taken place on the Arnhem Land coast. By this means we may observe in some kind of historic perspective the panorama of contact, and the inevitable repercussions on the life of the Aborigines. Then, having outlined the main picture, we can proceed to fill in some of the details.

For our purpose here, much more material is available in eastern Arnhem Land than in the west on the native's attitude towards alien contact. The full effect of such contact in the western area was comparatively late, while in the east it extended over a much longer period. Because of this, the western people suffered more seriously from its deleterious effects, but the eastern groups, who had a much longer and even more intensive record of contact, were able to adjust themselves gradually, and apparently with greater success. Official documents tell us something of the contact that took place in Arnhem Land, but since the western regions were closer to white settlement and administrative centres, far more is available concerning them.

Let us look, first, at the eastern side.

No other group of Aborigines in the Northern Territory, or perhaps in all Australia, has been subjected to such intensive contact with alien peoples, over such a long period of years, as have the coastal natives of north-eastern and south-eastern Arnhem Land.

Their association with Indonesian voyagers, with Malayans, Macassans from the Celebes, and people from adjacent islands,

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

commenced perhaps some hundreds of years ago, when these travellers of the sea expanded their field to include the North Australian coast. They came in search of trade, of trepang (bêche de mer), tortoise-shell, pearl-shell, sandalwood and timber.

But even before this, so these Aborigines tell in the songs that record and preserve their traditions, the "Baijini" people visited their shores. These Baijini, or pre-Macassans, also came from the western islands beyond the Arafura and Timor Seas; and the Aborigines still sing today of the ships in which these people arrived, and the women who came with them; the stone dwellings they built on the Australian mainland; the cloth that they wove and dyed; the clothes they wore, and the way in which they speared fish and cultivated small gardens. They are said to have been paler than the Macassans, a golden brown or copper colour like certain flying foxes. The Baijini era is looked upon, now, as belonging to the far-distant past – a part, almost, of the Ancestral Dreaming period, when the great Spirit Beings walked the earth. In some stories the Baijini are said to have been contemporaries of the most important among the Ancestral Beings, the Djanggawul Brother and Sisters.

The Aborigines distinguish this period from what they regard as historic times, when the Indonesians came sailing to the coast in their praus. They arrived with the north-west monsoons in October or November, staying for at least six months of the year and returning home again with the south-east winds. Occasionally some of them remained behind with their ships all through the dry winter, to be on hand when the fleets arrived at the beginning of the wet season.[1]

We cannot be certain of the approximate period when this Indonesian contact commenced, but tentative calculations place it in the early sixteenth century. Numerous camp sites, archaeological remains, old graves and tamarind trees testify to a prolonged association. Some of the large Macassan settlements have left concrete evidence behind them. In the north-eastern corner, for instance, quantities of pottery fragments have been found on an island at the mouth of Port Bradshaw and along the adjacent mainland.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

But it is in the realm of the great song cycles and the stories which survive that a colourful picture of Malayan and Macassan life on these shores is unfolded.

At various sites on the north-east and south-east coast of Arnhem Land, at Arnhem Bay, Melville Bay, Port Bradshaw, Trial Bay, Caledon Bay and Groote Eylandt, these Indonesians of different types (not all true Macassan or Malay traders) founded their settlements. They built their houses on stilts, roofed them with woven leaves and fibre of coconut palm and even furnished them in an elementary way. They kept fowls,[2] fastened by one leg to the posts of the huts. Nearby they erected large boilers, and racks for drying the trepang, and out in the bays their ships were lying at anchor or being repaired. Each main settlement was a hive of industry, with Macassans and Australian Aborigines employed as labourers for specified payments. There were bartering depôts. Local natives brought in pearls, tortoise-shell and other natural products that the Indonesians wanted, and were given in exchange East Indies currency, introduced foods such as rice and sweetmeats, or cloth, knives and tobacco. This trade was well established and its influences are still apparent today.[3]

The visitors not only brought goods from their own country. While they were settled on the mainland they manufactured pottery, knives, cloth and sails, and they kept written accounts of their transactions with the Aborigines and with their own employees. The effects of their sojourn are seen in some forms of the local material culture. They introduced the dug-out canoe, which has almost replaced the indigenous bark variety, and it was from them that the natives learned to use steel in making knives, spear blades and tomahawks.

But it seems to have been in their diversions and entertainments, or in their ceremonies, that the Indonesians exerted their greatest influence on Aboriginal life. Watching them, the Aborigines learnt to play cards,[4] and began to adapt their song rhythms to alien tunes and the sounds of foreign musical instruments. Their mortuary ceremonies came to be associated with the departure of the praus, and with Macassan burial rites.[5] The important secular ceremony of the carved *wuramu* figure, the

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

The important secular ceremony of the carved wuramu figure the "Collection" or "Crook Man", was directly inspired by what Aborigines had seen in Macassar and at home on the mainland.[6] At various places along the coast the visitors declared certain rocks to be sacred. They called them *karei*, or "King" rocks, and placed on them food and money as offerings to a guardian spirit. At the beginning and end of the trading season, it is said that the Indonesian fleets met in Arnhem Bay to perform ceremonies that culminated in wild debauchery. Alcohol was freely distributed. There were singing and dancing, fighting and flashing of knives, and the prostitution of Aboriginal women. But such scenes were more frequent during the later phase of Indonesian contact.

During the earlier period of contact the relations between the Aborigines and the traders seem to have been most amiable, although perhaps the memory of this has mellowed with the passing of time. Trafficking in women, according to their tradition, was more carefully controlled. Organised relationships were set up, where women went more or less automatically to the trading partners of their husbands or parents; and during the Indonesians' ceremonial periods they made gifts of food and other goods to the Aborigines, who reciprocated by sending over their women. Aboriginal women used to work in and around the huts of these traders, and the important leaders, such as captains of praus, maintained their own mistresses. It is said too that Indonesian women were very occasionally brought to these shores, but those who did come were for the most part treated as prostitutes. Alcohol was not so plentiful during this early phase of contact, and it was not until the period from about 1800 until 1907, when Indonesian trading was prohibited by the Commonwealth Government of Australia, that severe fights and brawls became common in these coastal settlements.

Over the years these visitors took back with them to Macassar numbers of Aboriginal men and women. Some of them were returned in the following season to their home camps in Australia while others remained behind in their new environment.[7]

It is difficult, after so great a lapse of time, to be sure of the actual state of affairs in regard to sexual relations between Indonesian traders and Aboriginal women. Many Aboriginal men today deny that their womenfolk had illicit sexual relations to

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

any extent with the visitors, and Professor Lloyd Warner used such statements as a basis for his opinion that the Malay traders did not interfere with native women.[8] But the women themselves offer a different point of view, and so do the songs and stories which have survived to the present day. Men are often unwilling to admit that they themselves, or people of their group, were induced by threats or by liquor to barter their wives and daughters, or that they allowed them to go to the traders because of their ties of friendship and trading relations. Often they attempt to "cover up" the fact that certain people are half or part Macassan, by insisting that their light skin has a spiritual rather than a purely physical explanation. The women, however, are more candid, and many of the older ones among them openly regret the passing of the Indonesian traders. Such an apparent contradiction is not unusual in matters of this kind, when casual liaisons have been carried out over a long period and then brought suddenly to an end through pressure of external circumstances.

The contacts of these Baijini and Indonesian people may have influenced the temperament of the coastal Aborigines, for they are (broadly speaking) more hasty tempered and emotional than the southern and central Aborigines, given to aggressive displays of anger and elementary warfare. The physical effects, however, apart from the infusion of an alien strain in the Aboriginal stock, seem to have been negligible; their indulgence in alcoholic drinks appears to have had no effect upon their general well-being,[9] while venereal diseases are virtually unknown in this eastern region.[10] This contrasts with conditions at Goulburn Island and Oenpelli, in western Arnhem Land, where the prevalence of venereal diseases (especially gonorrhoea) seems to have led to a high incidence of sterility, and so to a declining birth rate. Western Arnhem Land Aborigines have a reputation of being sexually rather lax, whereas various writers have expressed the opinion that the eastern Arnhem Landers are less willing to trade their womenfolk and have consequently been better able to regulate their sexual relations with "outside" people. Actually this impression seems to have its origin in the fact that the sexual pattern of both societies shows certain differences. The one is

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

more inclined to be blatant about sexual associations, while the other, perhaps equally promiscuous, is less willing to acknowledge this fact in public.

Even before the memorable meeting of Captain Mathew Flinders with Pobassoo, on 17 February 1803,[11] in the "Malay Road" between the English Company Islands and the mainland near Cape Wilberforce, Dutch and Portuguese voyagers had visited the north coast of Australia,[12] but their contact with the Aborigines seems to have been only transitory and unimportant. Before this, too, there is reason to believe that these coastal people had some association with native groups of the Torres Strait Islands and southern New Guinea. This subject is treated in one of the long song cycles of eastern Arnhem Land – although in later years, when the Missions introduced Badu Islanders (from the Torres Straits), these indigenous songs proved receptive in some degree to new ideas concerning that area.[13]

Mathew Flinders was followed by other explorers and surveyors,[14] until in the last quarter of the nineteenth century European traders became increasingly familiar with the Arnhem Land coast. About this time the relations between Macassans and the Aborigines began to deteriorate, and a number of massacres of these Indonesian visitors[15] were reported. Intercourse between Aborigines and Europeans was far from amicable. Mass shootings took place, native women were abducted, and some white men were speared. There was an attempt to settle part of the "Arafura" country, between Milingimbi and Elcho Island; in 1885 Florida cattle station was established near Mount Delight, between the Woolen and Blyth rivers.[16]

When the Macassan visits to the north coast came to an end there was an influx of Japanese pearlers and traders, and a few Europeans began to concentrate on trepanging. These people employed on their boats Aborigines from Darwin, Bathurst and Melville Islands and Goulburn Islands, as well as natives from the Torres Strait Islands, so that the coastal Arnhem Landers came in contact with a variety of "racial" types. The Japanese, for example, did not remain for long on friendly terms with the local natives; there were occasional spearings and massacres,

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

532

Plate 2: Drawing: Port Bradshaw; at its hey-day when it was an important Indonesian settlement.

[Facing p. 20]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
O117 Murngin O117

175 especially in the region about Caledon Bay and Blue Mud Bay.
648 Some Europeans too were involved in spearings, so that by the
177 1930's the Aborigines of these parts had gained a reputation for being "savage and warlike".

The natives, however, were not entirely to blame for their occasional attacks on invading strangers, who had not the long-standing trade ties of economic reciprocity and friendship that the Indonesians had enjoyed. When we look more closely into the underlying reasons we can understand that the Aborigines might well have resisted the insidious forms of exploitation, the low bartering estimates, and the constant interference with their womenfolk. Matters were accentuated by a punitive expedition led by police, which went with horses from Milingimbi to Blue Mud Bay and Caledon Bay,[17] and indiscriminately shot a number of Aborigines; while the killing of a police constable on Woodah Island, near Groote Eylandt, aroused a *crescendo* of publicity and outcry in Southern newspapers of the day.[18]

175 By 1930 several Mission stations had been set up at various
177 places along the coast, so that in succeeding years most of the
797 Aborigines in this region were in more or less constant contact with missionaries. A Church Missionary Society expedition in 1934, and a local trepanger, apprehended some natives who were asociated with a Japanese massacre at Caledon Bay and brought them to Darwin for trial. Soon after this, in 1935, Dr Donald Thomson set out on a pacificatory expedition with the purpose of finding out the reasons for the hostility of these natives, the extent of Japanese contact, and the general nature of local conditions.[19] During the north-west monsoon season of 1935-36 and during 1936-37 unrest among these Aborigines became more marked, mainly owing to the invasion of the Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve[20] by large numbers of Japanese and European traders.[21] Missionary enterprise was extended and intensified too, attacking indigenous forms of social behaviour and morality in a way which met with little positive resistance — although attempts were made to oppose the less insidious intrusion of traders, bent on purely economic (and sexual) exploitation. Evangelisation became closely co-ordinated with the aim of establishing all along

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17-

142
291

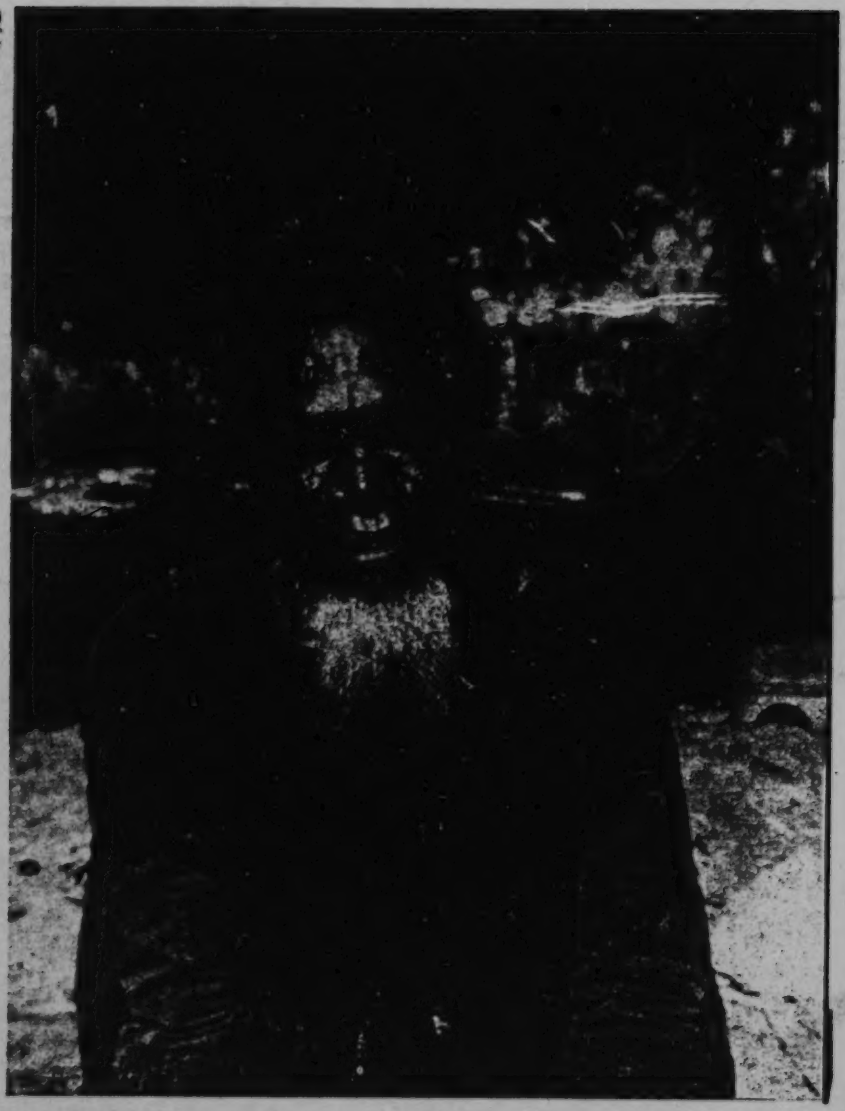


Plate 3: Wonggu at Yirrkalla

[Facing p. 21]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

the coast, centres of white settlement in the form of Mission stations. These Mission bodies were interested mainly in the problems of becoming self-supporting, of saving the Aborigines' souls, and of disseminating European beliefs and conventions.

A little before war was declared between Australia and Japan the visits of Japanese traders and pearlers to the Arnhem Land coast were curtailed, and finally forbidden altogether. Army, Air Force and Naval bases were formed in various parts of the Northern Territory, particularly after the bombing of Darwin in 1942-43. On the north-eastern coast the main camps of this kind were at Gove (Yirrkalla Mission settlement), Milingimbi, and the Wessel Islands, while there was a civil aviation and Air Force base at Groote Eylandt. Aborigines of these parts came subsequently into close contact with several thousands of Air Force and Army (as well as Naval) personnel. They were indented for menial work and employed in a variety of ways. Boats and 'planes were continually passing to and fro;[22] and the isolated crashes of a few 'planes, the activity of Army camp life and entertainment, and other phenomena of an artificial and abnormal life, heightened and altered the tempo of indigenous life. Traditional ceremonies and food-collecting were interrupted and curtailed, and the equilibrium of social life in general was far more deeply disturbed than it had been throughout all the preceding centuries of alien contact.

When these military establishments were finally abandoned (the last, Gove, in April 1946) the Aborigines were left to Missions whose staffs had been depleted, and who could not provide steady employment for the many natives who clustered about their stations. So the natives found themselves longing for the old times, when food and trade goods were generously distributed. The customary staid smoothness of Mission life, with its calm treatment of religion, they found depressing. Where, they asked, were the war-time picture shows, that brought before them rough-riding cowboys, lingering love scenes, and partially-naked white women, and the strange musical accompaniments of this form of entertainment? This nostalgia for past pleasures led to increasing signs of irresponsibility among the younger people, a

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175 trend towards sexual excess and a desire for increased contact
177 with Europeans.

Such is the general outline of the conditions that have some bearing on our main theme.

177 During the Malay-Macassan epoch the Aborigines seem to have
648 maintained a fairly well integrated pattern of culture, absorbing or discarding new ideas without seriously disturbing its basic
[439] structure. The early Indonesians were to the Aborigines just representatives of another clan or tribal group not greatly dissimilar to their own, and so they carried on trade with these visitors, just as they would with members of other clans who had desirable commodities to barter. It was a natural outcome of this that the Aborigines should extend their traditional codes of hospitality, making their womenfolk available to the Macassan traders.[23] When the strangers were thus provided with temporary or permanent wives, the social organisation of the groups and the personal opinions of their members were adjusted to suit both parties — and so a delicate problem was settled. Occasional arguments and fights did break out between them, but these were usually regarded as being comparable to inter-clan feuds or quarrels.

[273] Once the quantities of intoxicating drink began to enter the settlements, especially during the last phase of Macassan contact, relations began to deteriorate. There was irregular promiscuity, women were bartered in return for goods, and quarrelling and fights became more bitter and more frequent. Stories relating the sexual excess that took place during this period show how strongly this behaviour affected the psychological makeup of the Aborigines. Old women of north-eastern Arnhem Land like to talk about the days of Macassan contact, and they contrast the uneventful period of recent years with the time when drinking bouts resulted in sexual promiscuity, and food and clothing were easily obtainable. Even the time of plenty that accompanied the Air Force occupation was not the same, they say, as the old trading days and the glamour of the Indonesian visitors.

177 When the Japanese and European traders came to this coast,
648 the Aborigines at first resented their intrusion. "Why," they
439 asked, "do these strangers take the place of our old friends?"

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

However, they wanted the trade goods that these people could provide, and so they made an effort to adjust themselves to this new type of contact and to take up again the old traditional form of trading to which they were accustomed. 177 648 439

But they soon found that conditions had changed. These strangers brought with them Aborigines from other areas, and preferred to exploit the wealth of marine products themselves, using relatively few of the local people. This, of course, restricted the distribution of trade goods which they had expected to receive in payment for their work. Large scale trading was curtailed and was almost entirely replaced by individual bartering. This led to general resentment and dis-satisfaction.

They discovered, too, that although these Japanese and Europeans required native women for sexual purposes they were rarely willing to compensate their rightful guardians and husbands, preferring instead to decoy native women on to their boats or (as frequently happened) to take them by force. These same visitors paid no attention to native codes of morality and social intercourse,[24] and preferred to enjoy variety in sexual relations rather than to maintain one woman over a period. Any reasonably attractive woman was sexual bait to these men, some of whom admittedly tried to seduce as many of the younger ones as possible. Such an attitude has not been confined to this north-eastern coast. Many Europeans and Asiatics alike throughout the Northern Territory regarded all Aboriginal women as potential sexual partners, a state of affairs which exists to the present day. The behaviour of Japanese and European traders, trepangers and pearlers was modified in some areas because of the wariness and hostility of the Aboriginal men. At Groote Eylandt, for instance, native women were to some extent segregated from men even in their own camp life.[25] But in other regions, as in western Arnhem Land, it was accentuated. 177 648 [562]

Conditions of this kind resulted in various "massacres" and spearings, which continued until the Japanese were excluded and European trading was curtailed with the advent of the last war. But this period of what might be termed mutual antagonism had one good effect, which must not be underestimated. It forced many of these Aborigines to avail themselves of their natural 177 648 178

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

177 resources and develop their own internal economy, the clans to
649 become more closely integrated and the group as a whole more
178 self-sufficient. They were no longer dependent primarily on export and import, spending a great deal of their time around the Macassan settlements. Such outside goods as did find their way into the society were soon absorbed. It is probable, too, that their womenfolk had far less sexual contact with Europeans and Japanese than with the Indonesian traders. There were never as many of these newcomers on the coast at one time as there had been Malays and Macassans, and the Aborigines were never on such intimate terms with them as they had been with their predecessors.

However, the growing intensity of Mission contact, and the presence during the war years of large numbers of European troops, seem to have destroyed the natives' resistance to alien infiltration. Soon the reaction set in – actually the culminative effect of long centuries of contact with peoples who were culturally and psychologically different to themselves; and the result was gradually increasing dependence on Europeans. The desire for new ideas, and for all the material benefits they could achieve, was accentuated: but these were to be obtained only at the expense of their own culture and ideology. Although in the past they had learnt much about the successful absorption of alien belief and practice, these latter years found them wanting in knowledge concerning the practical application of their experience to modern problems. The deviation between Aboriginal and European cultures was greater than that between Aboriginal and Macassan, so that the present day finds these people largely unprepared for the changes that are upon them. Important aspects of their traditional life are disappearing. Religious fervour for the "old gods" is weakening; law and order are becoming more and more a matter of external control; and general disillusionment, with increased sexual laxity, accentuates these features that accompany a period of transition.

144 While the effects of long alien contact are only too apparent
164 insofar as the native culture is concerned, the direct physical effects (excluding the effect of Asiatic and Indonesian strains on the Aboriginal stock) are few.[20] The fact that venereal disease are

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

rare in this north-east region[27] seems hard to believe when we consider the extent of Asiatic, Indonesian and European contact, and the sexual intimacy of the Aboriginal women with members of all these groups. Physically, these people remain more or less intact,[28] and increasing sterility has not followed contact as it has at Goulburn Island in western Arnhem Land. But there is a danger today, with the growing association these natives have with the Goulburn Island people, with the "crew-boys" on Mission luggers, and with native and European men and women in Darwin, that venereal disease will be introduced and disseminated. Aboriginal attitudes toward medical attention often preclude an early treatment of such cases, and the disease is allowed to gain much ground before it can be controlled and eradicated.

A word may be said of depopulation in this region. The reasons for this are not the same as at Goulburn Island, or on the cattle stations in the central north-western area of the Northern Territory,[29] but may perhaps be found in the warlike habits of the eastern Arnhem Landers.[30] Constant feuding over a long period is said to have reduced especially the male population, and brought about the extinction or amalgamation of many clans. This warring propensity led to a surplus of women, and had a direct bearing on sexual behaviour. For example, large polygynous families were formed; and these are conventional even today. It was perhaps because of this that the Aborigines were more ready to allow the Macassans and Malays access to their womenfolk: possibly there would have been far more dissension between these people and the Indonesian traders had their social structure been primarily monogamous.

[pp. 26-176 not processed]

133

Plate 4a: Oenpelli Hill, with Gunbalanja billabong.

Plate 4b: Towering rocks behind the Oenpelli Mission.

[p. 25(A)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

532

Plate 5: Drawing: Melville Bay during Indonesian contact.

[p. 29(B)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

142
301
304

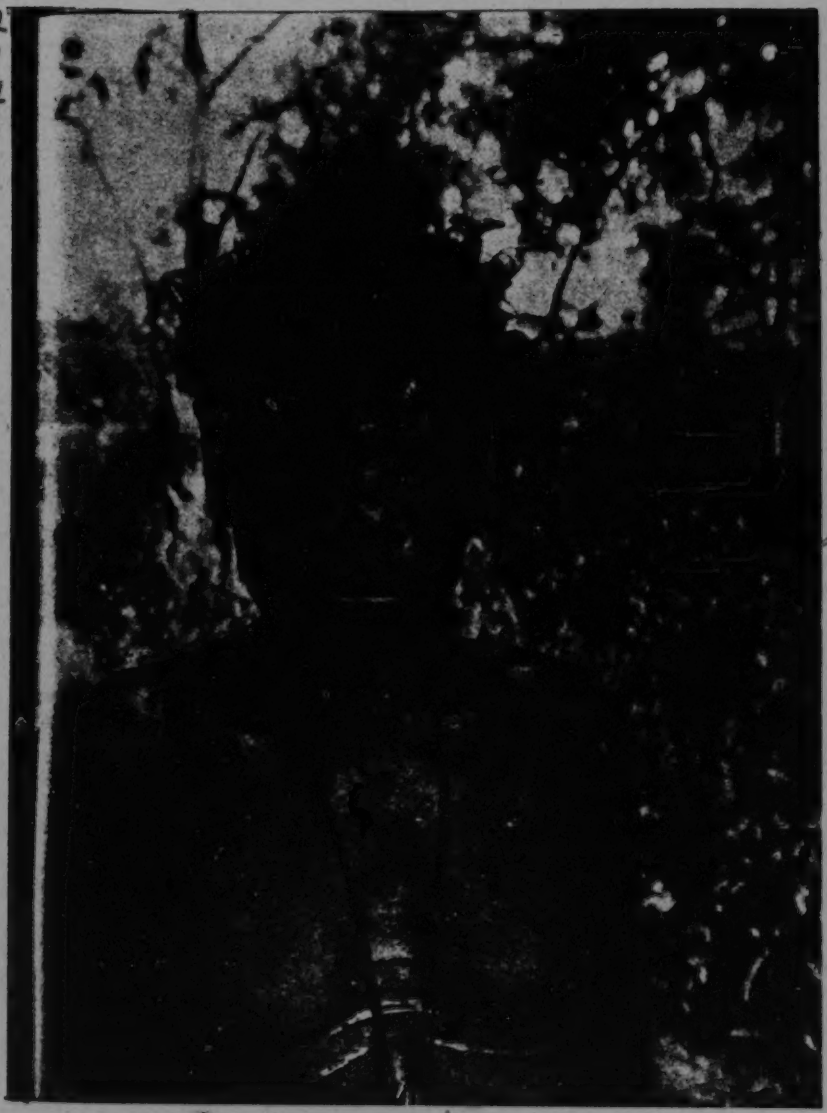


Plate 6: Mauwulan at Yirrkalla.

[p. 25(c)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

532

Plate 7: Drawing: The Port of Macassar and its immediate vicinity.

[p.25(a)]

142
301
302

Plate 8a: Naburdja at Yirrkalla; a wife of Djirin.

Plate 8b: Djirin at Yirrkalla; a son of Wonggu.

[304]

[p. 25(E)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OM17 Murngin OI17

532

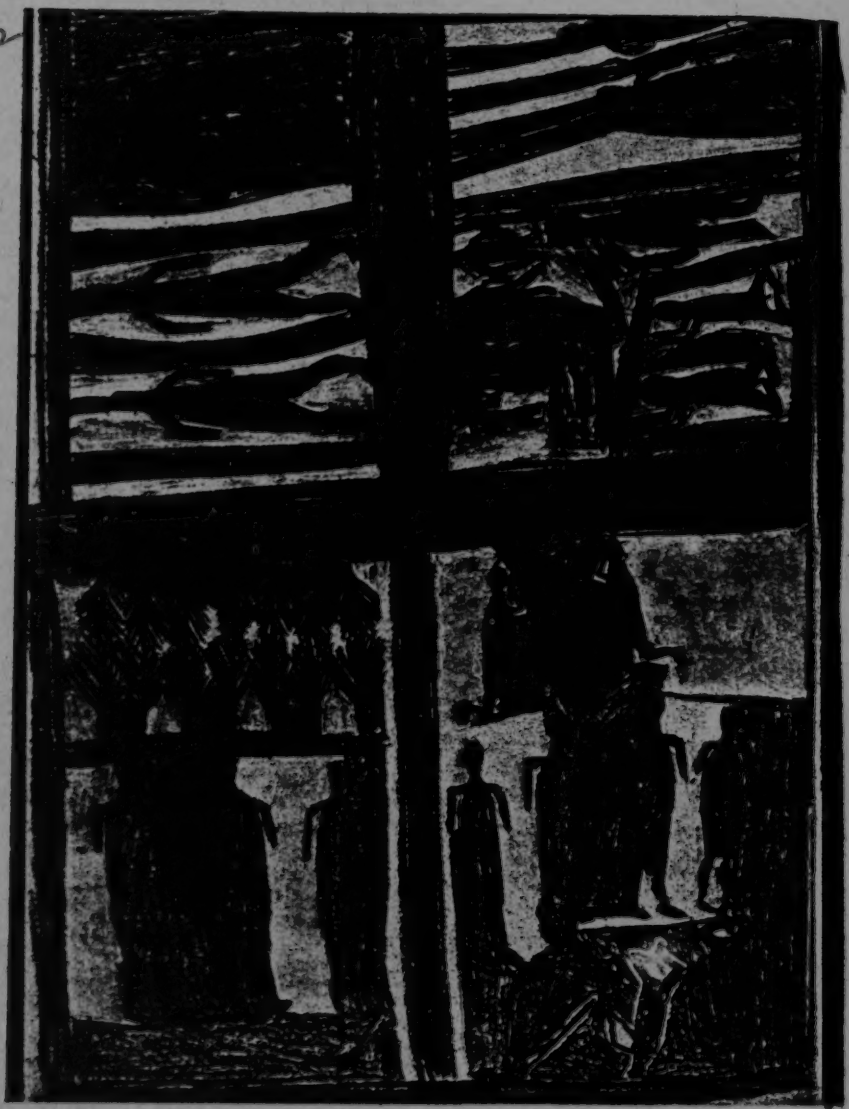


Plate 9: Drawing: A wuramu "Collection" ceremony at Port Bradshaw.

[p. 25(F)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

532

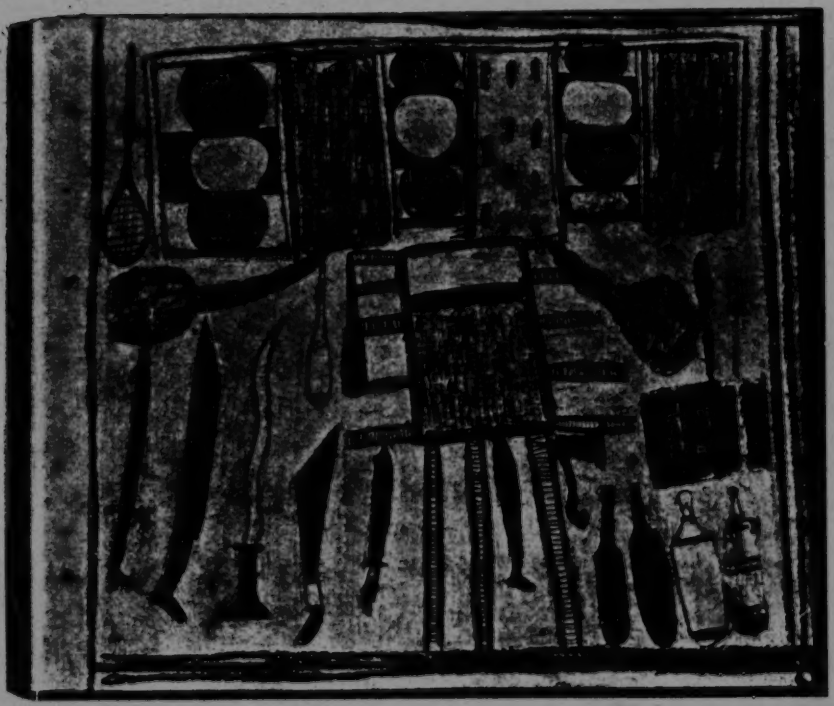


Plate 10: Drawing: A Macassan trepang site on the Australian mainland.

[p.25(G)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
O117 Murngin O117

142
291
301
516

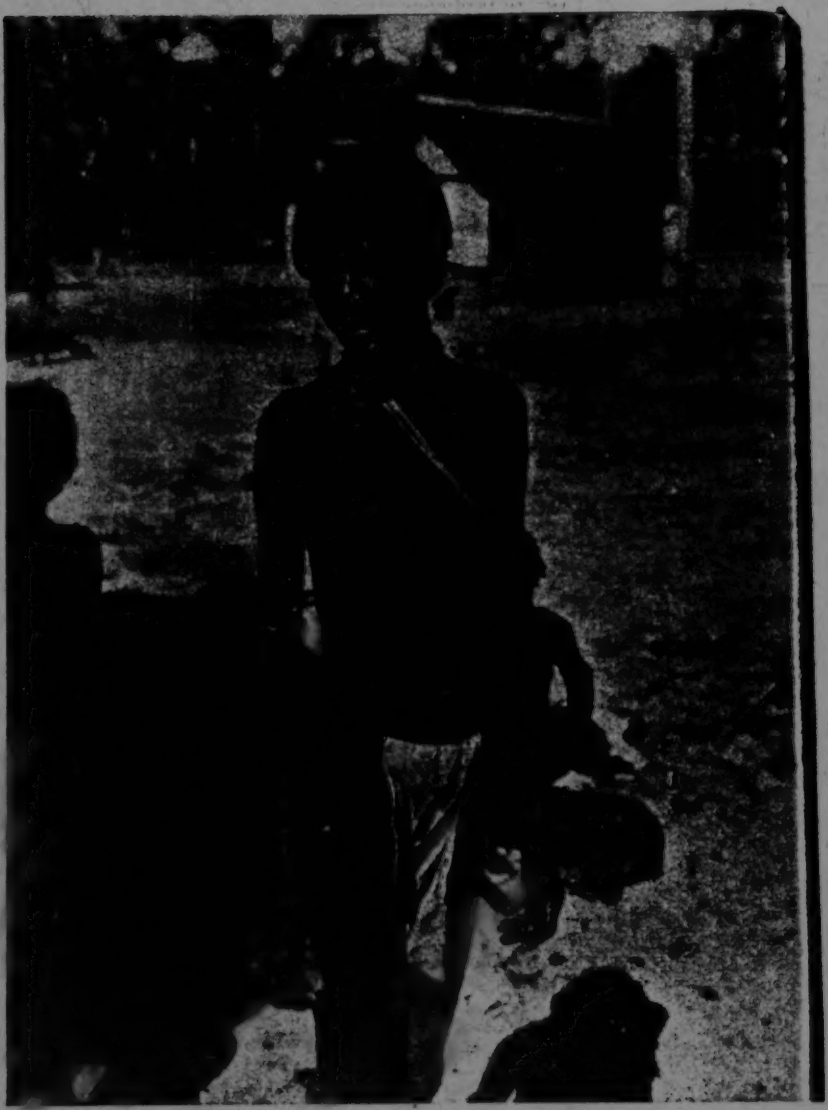


Plate 11: Bulamada at Yirrkalla; daughter of Dagiar (Tuckiar).

[p. 25(H)]

000

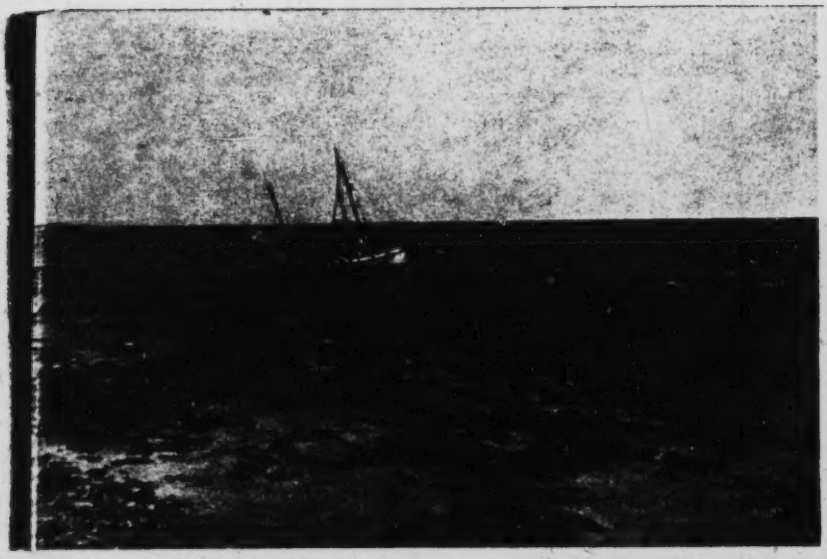


Plate 14a: A lugger being unloaded at Elcho Island.

Plate 14b: Yirrkalla Mission Settlement.

797
361

[p. 25(I)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

628

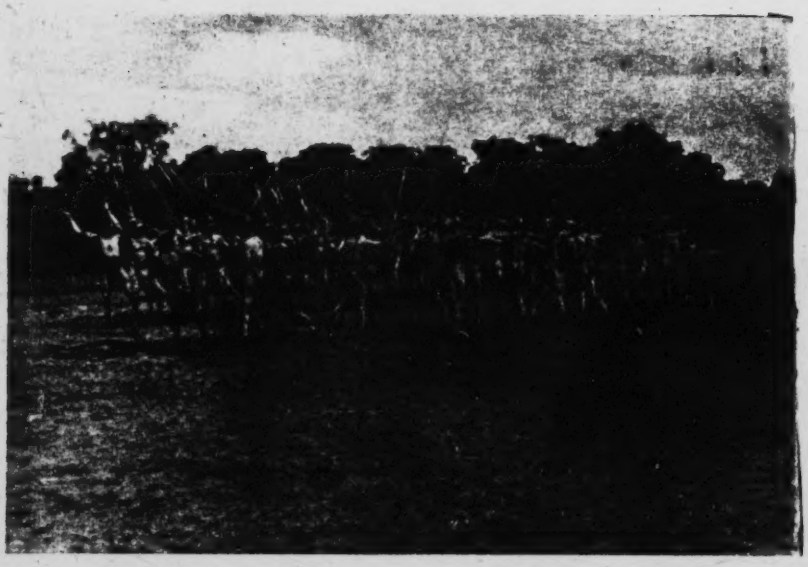


Plate 15a: A ritualized "peace-making" ceremony held at Yirrkalla.

Plate 15b: A canoe from "Badu," washed up at Yirrkalla.

501

[p. 25(J)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

CHAPTER 17

AFTERMATH

The direct repercussions of these murders and killings are of special interest to us here.

The great Arnhem Land Reserve had been declared in 1931, as a result of Bleakley's Report[1] of 1928, and a conference held in 1929[2] by representatives of Missions, societies and associations interested in Aboriginal welfare. This report and this conference were indications of changing public opinion throughout Australia in relation to the Aboriginal question. More and more people and societies were willing to offer sympathy and, what was at that time most important, constructive suggestions.

The establishing of this Reserve, it was hoped, would put an end to undesirable alien contact in the shape of European and Japanese[3] traders, pearlers and beachcombers, thus halting the detribalisation of the Aborigines and ensuring greater opportunities for missionary endeavour. The Reserve was, officially, inviolable. Only missionaries, officials, and other accredited people were to be permitted within its boundaries. But it was quite impossible to patrol adequately such a long coast-line and so large a territory, and from time to time unauthorised people did enter the Reserve. This was especially the case during the first few years, when there was still a sprinkling of trepangers and pearlers, and Japanese infiltration became actually intensified. It was during these years, too, that the Aborigines committed most of the killings mentioned in the foregoing chapters.

From the natives' point of view, the formation of this Reserve meant nothing at all. Most of them knew nothing about it, and those who did cared less. Why should they bother about a

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175 Reserve? It was their own territory, where their ancestors had
648 lived, and they were bound to it by strong spiritual ties. Laws were passed by an alien Government, about which they knew very little, and which was (so they thought at that time) no concern of theirs. Japanese, and a few Europeans, were still round the coast; conditions had not perceptibly changed.

175 Since the termination of Indonesian contact there had been a
648 lag in trading, but the Missions, which since 1916 had been
177 spreading along the coast, were helping to fill this gap. From
797 that date, and much earlier in the Roper River area, the Aborigines began to drift into these Mission stations and to avail themselves of the opportunities they offered. They did not as yet distinguish between the different forms of contact. The Japanese aims of exploitation were, in their eyes, very much the same as those of the Europeans, while they scarcely differentiated between these white traders and the missionaries. European traders and missionaries, officials and police, were representatives of an alien form of Government, which did not recognise the hereditary rights and legal codes of the Aborigines themselves.

175 How could these people judge differently, when they observed
648 from actual cases that the missionaries, trepangers and police
177 worked hand in hand together—as, for instance, during the Caledon Bay trial? They realised too that the Europeans were unwilling to believe them, particularly in the matter of evidence given in court. Their dialects were not understood, and the interpreters at their disposal not always reliable. What was justice to them was crime to the Europeans, an outlook largely determined by the cultural pattern of each group.

So the natives were thrown on their own resources, and felt obliged to settle the matter of their defence in their own way. When this conflicted with European interests, they seem to have realised that they would have to sublimate their own views, or else pay the full penalty of acting on their own initiative; and this penalty involved either physical violence or imprisonment or both. In the white man's court of law the Aborigines were inarticulate, and powerless to defend themselves. Had they known that an increasing number of white Australians were interested in their welfare, and ready to step forward in their

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

defence, they might have been flattered. It is hard to tell. More probably they would have dismissed these people and their sympathy as being irrelevant and negligible, for the eastern Arnhem Landers, in particular, have a strong sense of their own importance. These aliens did not know them intimately and personally, had not lived with them, and understood nothing of their language, and the complexities of their tribal life. No, for the time being (so they seem to have decided) they would have to depend on themselves alone, until they became articulate and their rights, as a minority, were realised and appreciated.

So much for the early days of the Arnhem Land Reserve, and for the attitude of the Aborigines living within it. We shall return later on to this subject, and see just how far conditions have changed today.

What were the direct results of the murders of Europeans and Japanese during the early 1930's? The opinion of Australians in general, apart from those who were indifferent or apathetic, seems to fall into three main categories. The extremists held that "the niggers should be taught a lesson", and that the best means of doing this was a punitive expedition. Such measures, they contended, had always succeeded in the past. The natives were, so to speak, beaten into subjection, and "cheeky" behaviour effectively discouraged. The conservative view, on the other hand, was that the culprits should be brought to justice and punished, and so made an example to others. The moderates insisted that a pacification expedition should be sent to Arnhem Land, the true circumstances of the killings investigated, and conditions altered so that there would be no need for a recurrence. As we have seen, the conservative plan was adopted and the extremist viewpoint officially discarded, while an attempt was made to put into practice the moderate view. Let us, then, glance in greater detail at some of these repercussions.

When the Minister of the Interior at Canberra heard that Traynor and Fagan had been killed by Aborigines, he declared that the matter was serious, and that some attempt should be made to secure the safety of white men legitimately engaged in the Territory.[4] The Darwin *Northern Standard* of 5 September 1933

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175 announced that a punitive expedition would be sent to Arnhem
648 Land to avenge the death of Constable McColl on Woodah Island. "Despite strong protests from missionaries and others," continued the report, "the Federal Government has sent all supplies required to equip a formidable punitive expedition against the Aborigines in Arnhem Land. Federal Ministers who have had experience of native administration favour a punitive expedition. Lieut.-Col. R. H. Weddell (then Government Resident) strongly urges the necessity of strong measures to teach the natives a lesson. It is contended that unless police authority is upheld the natives will get out of hand, and the massacre of white residents and missionaries will follow. It is argued that if once the natives get the idea they can kill with impunity there is no knowing where they will stop. On the other hand, it is claimed the sending out of a small police party, which included McColl, was ill-advised, as it only roused the natives and incited them to attack".

[797] Missionaries and their associates in the South opposed such measures. They held meetings and protested to the Government, to some effect. But not all missionaries, apparently, were of this opinion – as witness, for example, Mr Dyer's evidence in the McColl murder case. Moderate opinion in the South swayed the Government to decide eventually against a punitive expedition. However, a police party under Constables Morey and Graham was sent out to Groote Eylandt via the Roper River. They did not plan to use Mission transport, for "as far as is possible care will be taken to remove the impression from the minds of the Aboriginals that the police are working in conjunction with the missionaries. Despite reference in the Southern Press regarding a punitive expedition, Superintendent Stretton emphasised his assertion that no punitive expedition of a death-dealing nature had ever been contemplated by the Administration in connection with any police party sent or to be sent to Caledon Bay. No extensive patrol work would be done by the police party either on Groote Eylandt or by boat, in the near or distant vicinity. The police would simply camp there as a protective party until after the wet season".[5]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

AFTERMATH

The Minister of the Interior (Mr Perkins) later decided a small party of experienced missionaries[6] should attempt to capture the murderers of Constable McColl and the Japanese.

We have already seen how the so-called "murderers" were eventually brought to justice. And at this juncture it is interesting to quote an opinion that appeared in the Southern Press in May 1934, after the Caledon Bay natives had been brought into Darwin for trial, and before the case had come before the Supreme Court.

"It looks as if interest in Caledon Bay may now sleep until Buck Eye and his warriors scupper a few more Japanese. A week or two ago Constable Hall was detailed to visit the region lone-handed and bring back witnesses; but the new Acting Administrator and Commissioner of Police has cancelled the senseless trip, and 'future action against the natives brought to Darwin is a matter for Government consideration'. It is to be hoped that it will think long before proceeding on confessions which might or might not have been pure bravado, and call the farce off. Everybody has had a fair innings – the missionaries their limelight and a Government subsidy, the Abos a free trip and some new experiences, the flapper Press its sensations, and the tax payers their usual privilege of paying for the whole muddle. So everybody should be satisfied."[7]

One of the Territorians, too, among others, had something to say on the murder of white men by Aborigines.[8] "A report comes into Darwin, we'll say of a murder or murders of white men. The police are at once despatched out to capture the native killers. They are captured, brought to Darwin, tried and convicted, sent to Fanny Bay for life. This is only one side of the affair. The public are satisfied. The murderer has been caught and convicted and the murdered man or men avenged. Now we'll look at the other side. The powers that be have never been bothered with this side. The Abo. witnesses who are brought to the trial of these murderers when in court will say anything that pleases, their word not being worth a pinch of salt. Now what did these murdered men do to the blacks to cause their loss of life? An Abo. does not kill without a reason. Was it loot, or were the white men

532

Plate 12a: Drawing: A Macassan prau.

Plate 12b: Japanese luggers off Cape Stewart.

000

[facing p. 182]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175 649 interfering with or kidnapping their lubras, or were they shooting at or over them, or were they fraternising with the blacks, one of the gravest errors a white man can commit? If any of these happenings had occurred other than loot, the Abo. has no redress. The only law he recognises is to kill. He cannot and does not know how to take proceedings against the white man, and furthermore would not be given a hearing were these killings of the white men on the coast caused by any of these happenings? None has bothered to investigate. The Abo. killed a white, that's sufficient. We know Japanese have been killed for their interference with lubras, but what about the white murdered men? Was their crime the same? I cannot tell, because it has never been investigated. My maxim is 'A good Abo. is a dead Abo.' but when it comes to fair play I'm with the Abo. as well as the white man. . . . The greatest mistake is to allow the Abo. to step over the line, fraternise with them, and allow the Abo. to size them up and then their troubles begin, ending only in one way – camp looted or the men murdered".

Mr R. MacDonald, of the Northern Territory Gaol Service, also had comments to make. "When the natives of Arnhem Land are treated decently they are friendly, but imposition and ill treatment are keenly resented. That is why many Japanese trepang fishers and a few white men have felt the full blast of the Aborigines' hostility, and why Arnhem Land is reputed to be peopled by murderous blacks. Men fall very low in those waters. If they would only let the blacks alone they would be all right. They promise the natives all sorts of things, take them hundreds of miles away from their homes, and leave them with nothing. The black will do a lot for a promise – but he'll also do a lot if that promise is not fulfilled".[9]

175 649 797 Towards the end of 1933, the Commonwealth Government made a grant to meet the cost of the peace expedition that the Church Missionary Society had sent to Caledon Bay. It was decided that the Roper River Mission should be closed and a new one opened at Caledon Bay, since the establishment of a Mission station was considered to be an effective means of checking lawlessness among the local natives.[10] But some missionaries were opposed to this move, and the Presbyterian *Messenger* protested:

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

532
177

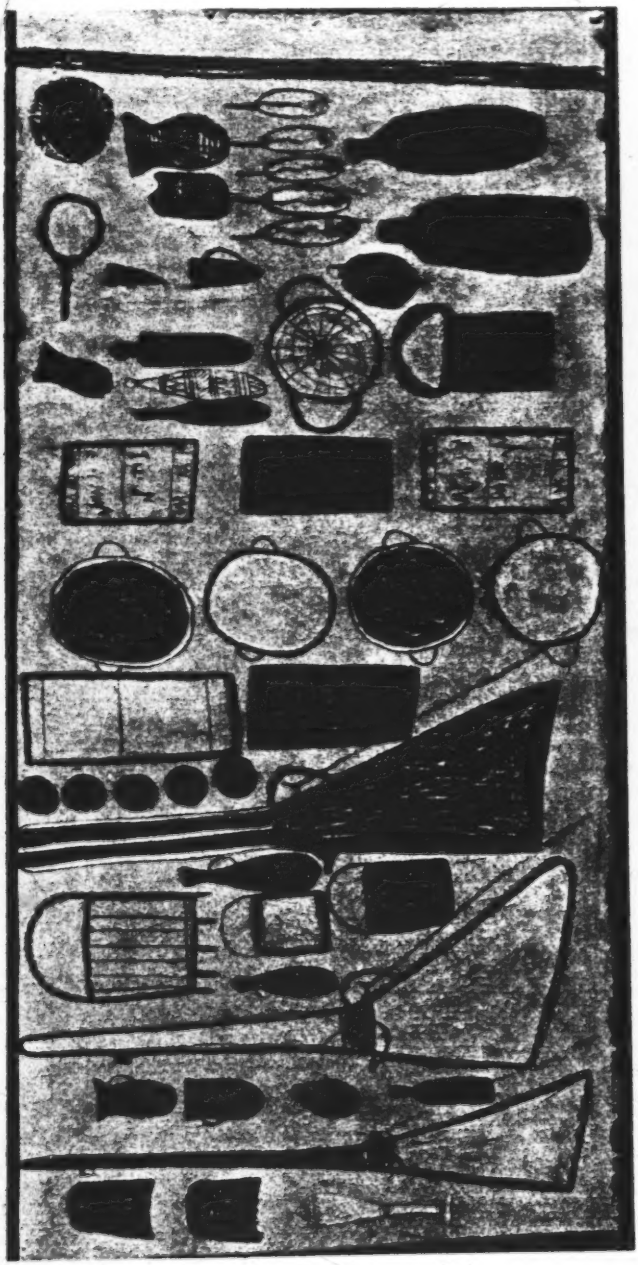


Plate 13: Drawing: Various articles that were introduced by the Indonesians.

[facing p. 183]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

AFTERMATH

"We believe it is a grave blunder to call in the missionaries to become agents of the police . . ."[11] The peace expedition had no really tangible result. There was an unsuccessful attempt to establish a Mission station at Caledon Bay; and the Roper River Mission station did not close down.

An important consequence of the Woodah Island and Caledon Bay murders, the outcry in the Southern Press, and the general agitation of the Administration and missionary bodies and associations, was the appointment of Dr Donald Thomson to visit eastern and north-eastern Arnhem Land. On his first expedition, which lasted from March 1935 until January 1936, he covered a wide area, sailing right around the coast and making some trips into the interior.[12]

As a result, Dr Thomson made certain recommendations regarding the future welfare and government of the Arnhem Landers.[13] It was desirable, he said, to have "absolute segregation. . . . The social structure *in toto* should be preserved as an essential factor in the life of these people". and "the nomadic habits of these people must be regarded as an integral part of their culture. The collecting of natives, not detribalised, into compounds or institutions should be prohibited. If it is desired to teach Christianity to these people, it should be insisted that the Christian teacher or missionary be prepared to visit the people in their own country, and not to gather them about a station or Mission school". Dr Thomson suggested also the "establishment and maintenance of patrols to move about among the nomadic tribes of Arnhem Land, in particular to protect the natives from interference and exploitation, and to maintain a state of domestic peace. Many of the 'attacks' that have occurred in this territory have undoubtedly been merely retaliatory measures to which the natives have been goaded. A particularly unfortunate aspect of these incidents is the fact that vengeance may sometimes be delayed and fall ultimately upon an entirely innocent individual". He listed special qualifications for men entrusted with these patrols, and advised that a medical officer should be employed.

A number of his other recommendations have a more general applicatino and do not specifically relate to Arnhem Land: 'the abolition of the anomalous system under which police constables

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

act as Protectors of Aborigines; the adoption of a settled, uniform policy for the treatment of the whole of the Aboriginal population of Australia; the immediate establishment of a Department of Native Affairs staffed by men selected solely for their special qualifications and sympathies for dealing with the natives, etc.'.

Without commenting in detail on these recommendations of Dr Thomson, we should point out that complete segregation is today only an ideal, which could not be put into practice. It would, moreover, be unsatisfactory to the natives themselves, and especially to these coastal Arnhem Landers who have had so many long years of alien contact. The most enlightened course is to bring about their gradual adjustment to changing conditions, trying to keep the best elements in their traditional culture, and at the same time introducing them to the new culture and society to which they must eventually adapt themselves.

Although the Aborigines are not actually being gathered into compounds, most native camps around the Arnhem Land Mission stations are tending to become more or less static; and under present conditions it would be difficult to alter this. The suggested patrols through Arnhem Land were never instituted, although in the last few years several small patrols under Department of Native Affairs officials have penetrated some regions, and the Administration patrol boat has made a number of trips along the whole Arnhem Land coast. For a long time there was no full-time medical officer concentrating on Aboriginal welfare,[13a] while the majority of police are still "Protectors of Aborigines". Even today there is no co-ordinated Aboriginal policy for the whole of Australia, although several abortive moves have been made in this direction. Each State still controls its own Aboriginal population, with its own local regulations. But the Northern Territory is under Commonwealth jurisdiction. Here a Native Affairs Branch was established in 1939, and some of its patrol officers have received training in anthropology and allied subjects.

Even if Dr Thomson's recommendations were not all put into effect, and even if some are not accorded full approval today by anthropologists and administrators, they were nevertheless significant as far as Arnhem Land was concerned. This was the first time in the history of Arnhem Land, apart from Missionary

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

enterprise, that an attempt was made by officialdom to understand the problems of the natives themselves, and the first constructive step in a situation that desperately needed an unbiassed and sympathetic approach. 175 648

Other forces too had been at work behind the scenes, and indeed succeeded in influencing official opinion to a greater extent than did the work of Dr Thomson. To describe this fully would require access to private and confidential papers and so on which are at present unavailable. Unfortunately, from the historian's point of view, these have not been published, and he is forced to rely on the *Reports* of Dr Thomson and of contemporary committees and enquiries. Thomson's *Reports* and recommendations were preceded by much official activity and pressure from scientists (such as Professor A. P. Elkin), Mission bodies and other agencies. Thomson's *Reports* were in harmony with a growing section of public opinion which had for several years been bringing pressure to bear on the Commonwealth Government.

This led eventually to the formulation of what was regarded as a new and positive policy for the Aborigines in the Northern Territory. It was drawn up by the Minister of the Interior (Hon. J. McEwen) and the Secretary of the Department (Mr J. Carrodus), with the help of Professor Elkin. Thus Thomson's recommendations were only one factor in the official and unofficial combination which was serving to introduce a new epoch into Arnhem Land.

Dr Thomson's second trip to Arnhem Land extended from June 1936 to October 1937.[14] During this trip he took back to their home territory the three natives, Neidjalma, Mau and Nagaia, who had been serving sentences for their part in the Caledon Bay massacre.

Dr Thomson's most valuable contribution, in this case, was his report on European and Japanese activities in Arnhem Land. Since this has a direct bearing on the subject we may quote some of his comments.[15] During 1936-37, he said, the invasion of the Reserve by Japanese, and by Europeans (chiefly from Darwin), reached such proportions that conditions he had previously reported were intensified. The Reserve was being violated to such

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175
648

an extent that it was a Reserve only in name. Not only were the natives widely exploited by white men and Japanese, but they were often taken to Darwin and other places by boat, either as passengers, or on vessels with Japanese crews in return for the prostitution of their women. During 1936, in spite of the lessons of 1933, white men were engaged in trepang fishing and other activities, with depôts on the Reserve along the eastern and western coast of Arnhem Land.

Throughout 1937 the growing number of Japanese-manned pearling vessels in the waters of the Reserve was a potent factor in the local unrest that was becoming steadily more serious each month. In May 1936-37, states Dr Thomson, there were upwards of seventy vessels within sight at one time from the beach at Mooroonga Island in the Crocodile Group.[16] One of these vessels, the *Tenjin Maru*, had a crew of fifteen men, so that at a conservative estimate there were perhaps seven hundred Japanese on the Arnhem Land coast at this time. The pearling fleets included boats from Darwin as well as from Thursday Island, in addition to the Japanese vessels. It became their practice to resort to certain anchorages, especially at the King and Liverpool Rivers, at Cape Stewart, Mooroonga Island, and Elcho Island; and here large congregations of Aborigines met the boats. Unrest, instability and lawlessness increased among them, and a state very near chaos resulted.

Dr Thomson, at this time, urged that attention should be paid to his recommendations regarding complete segregation, and the inviolability of the Reserve. He did not stipulate permanent segregation, for all time, but declared: "It should be the policy to maintain these inviolable reserves for the natives who are still in possession of their culture, until and unless a sound working policy and one in the best interests of the Aboriginals is established, tested, and proved by experience over a long period, among the natives who are already detribalised".[17] In another Report he made recommendations similar to those already cited, elaborating on some points but in no way modifying his previous views.[18] These serve as a valuable basis for future discussion and formulation of native policy.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

But although Dr Thomson's reports showed the disastrous results of Japanese infiltration, nothing really effective was done in respect of this until the end of 1941 brought war with Japan. Then, at last, intercourse of these people with the Aborigines was brought to a close.

Little has been said here concerning missionary enterprise in Arnhem Land, a form of contact which has profoundly influenced certain aspects of native life, even though it has only a partial bearing on the main theme of this book. We shall refer to this again in the following chapter. Another factor with which we have not dealt concerns Prof. Lloyd Warner,[19] already mentioned, who carried out anthropological work, principally in the Milingimbi area, between 1926 and 1929 — that is, before the epoch we have been considering in this chapter. This was the first detailed anthropological work undertaken in the Arnhem Land region;[20] and it is reasonable to suppose that his studies did, to some extent at least, influence native thought. He and his work were still remembered in 1946-47, more or less clearly, by natives along the coast from Milingimbi to Yirrkalla.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

CHAPTER 18

THE PRESENT DAY

175
177

Looking back over the years we can glimpse, in perspective, the panorama of contact that the Arnhem Landers have had with peoples of alien groups. We have seen, too, something of the effects. At first, the Aborigines were willing to adjust themselves to foreign ways. This period lasted for some time, and was accompanied by a certain amount of assimilation, but its main feature was the gradual conditioning of these natives to the waves of contact that were to follow. While they were adjusting themselves to Indonesian infiltration and settlement, they were at the same time building up a strong resistance against other forms of alien contact; and they were absorbing into their own culture certain new elements, rejecting others that could not readily be adapted to the existing pattern. Religious ideas, ceremonies and song-cycles, as well as material objects, were accepted, and welded on to the indigenous framework without destroying its basic structure. The new economic organisation that arose had its origin in local as well as in alien forms. During this early period the Aborigines' social horizons were extended and their world was no longer the small place that it had been; and for some of them, too, this involved travel and personal observation beyond the confines of the Australian mainland.

As time passed European visitors, settlers and traders made their appearance, shattering the delicate balance that the Aborigines and Indonesians had built up on the basis of their trading relationships. This Arnhem Land coast, that the Indonesians had looked on as their own preserve, was now disputed by a nation

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175
177

which extended its dominion over the Australian mainland. An era had drawn to a close, and the last phase of Indonesian contact had begun.

As the years passed, as the settlers penetrated steadily into western Arnhem Land and European exploration was intensified, these new traders extended their fields, and ill-feeling developed between Indonesians and Europeans. All this led to a period of unsettlement as far as the Aborigines were concerned. Their smoothly functioning trading ties were broken. Competition became the order of the day, and with it came thinly-disguised exploitation.

The Indonesians not only clashed with the Europeans. They succeeded in stirring up unrest and antagonism among the Aborigines – antagonism that was later manifested against European and Indonesian alike. In the confusion that followed, with the rush to exploit local products and available native labour, the Aborigines received the full impact of these unsettled times. The result for them was, in the western region, disaster and depopulation, and in the east, spasmodic fighting to assert themselves and to defend their rights. When the Indonesian trading was brought to a close the whole position was accentuated and the increased activities of the European traders did not serve to improve matters.

Japanese visitors, too, became more numerous and helped to bring about a state of affairs in which the Aborigines were more or less continually on the defensive. It was this background that produced the murders and "massacres" of the early 1930's. But even then, although Arnhem Land received a great deal of attention from interested and dis-interested bodies in the South, as well as in the Territory itself, conditions remained fundamentally the same. Certainly, physical violence was largely reduced, but many other insidious forms of contact continued. Through Dr Thomson's recommendations, permission to enter Arnhem Land was granted less readily to traders and other non-Aboriginals, especially since in 1931 this region had been declared an inviolable Reserve. But this did not really check the influx of Japanese into these coastal waters. In fact their infiltration was intensified during this period and brought with it, as we have seen, many

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175 648 undesirable elements. Dr Thomson, for example, has commented on the demoralising effects of Japanese association with the Aborigines.

Summarising, then, we can observe that the long period of Baijini-Macassan contact resulted in some measure of adjustment between alien and Aboriginal; and while no other elements were present, the *status quo* was maintained. With the advent of another cultural group conditions were altered, and the period of unsettlement commenced. As still other elements made their appearance on the north coast, this unrest among the Aborigines was accentuated, and lasted more of less continuously until 1942, when they began to experience repercussions from the second World War.

However, the establishment of the Arnhem Land Reserve, the murders of the 1930's, and the pacification expeditions which followed, did herald a new epoch. And although this period of unsettlement continued, mainly owing to the presence of large numbers of Japanese, it was actually drawing to a close. The administration was becoming more directly interested in the welfare of the Arnhem Landers. Recommendations relating to Aboriginal policy were being drafted, missionary enterprise was being extended, with more apparent official backing, and a Native Affairs Branch was gradually being formed. These were the principal indications that the old period was coming to an end, even if the new ideas could not yet be put into practice. Indeed, their execution was postponed for some years by the entry of the Japanese into the second World War, and the placing of the Territory under complete military control.

175 797 Let us pause to consider the position of the Missions in Arnhem Land, and their part in the general overall picture of culture contact.

Between 1846 and 1848, a Roman Catholic missionary priest named Rev. D. Angelo Confalonière was stationed at Port Essington.[1] In 1900, also in western Arnhem Land, a small Mission station was started under the control of a Mr Lennox, but its stay was brief and unsuccessful.[2] The Roper River Mission began operations in the first years of this century (1908) and extended its activities to Groote Eylandt in 1921, concentrating there at

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

first on half-caste children, but later taking in full-blooded Aborigines. During the early years of the Groote Eylandt station there was continual dissension between the missionaries and Aborigines. At one time it was found necessary to barricade the Mission buildings and to build a stockade against an expected attack by mainland Aborigines, who were camping nearby in some force. These were stormy days. But eventually a more or less static camp of peaceful natives grew up around the Mission, and an increasing number came into direct contact with the missionaries. At Oenpelli, too, in western Arnhem Land, the Church Missionary Society in 1925 took over a Government Aboriginal cattle station which had been managed by the former buffalo shooter "Paddy" Cahill. The station was allowed to pass into Mission hands mainly because it was, at the time, failing to pay its way.

The Methodists opened their first station at Goulburn Island in 1916. In the words of one of the missionaries: "A few natives arrived and offered to help with the work, and shortly afterwards there were a hundred men, women and children on the station. The girls and boys were induced to attend the open-air school and think of the Mission station as their home".[3] There were half-castes here too, but a little before the War they were moved to the new station that was set up at Croker Island.[4] Later on Elcho Island Mission was opened; the missionaries withdrew to Milingimbi when the Petroleum Company commenced operations but finally returned. Milingimbi Mission continued to function. In 1935 the Methodists commenced a fourth Mission station at Yirrkalla, in the north-eastern corner of Arnhem Land.

That is to say, at the time of the most intense Japanese contact on the north coast seven Mission stations had been established, fringing the Reserve from west to east, and from north-east to south. These Missions were in contact with the great majority of local Aborigines, except for two or three small "pockets" of people in the Liverpool district, on the mainland south of Milingimbi, and around Rose River. Even these had indirect and spasmodic association with the Mission stations. Points of white settlement in the shape of Missions, then, as now,

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

virtually encircled Arnhem Land. Static camps of natives (severely criticised in Dr Thomson's reports) were formed at all these places, so that today, and as the years pass, more and more natives look to one or more of these stations as their "home". They remain in the Bush for increasingly shorter periods, finding it always harder to keep away from these centres as they come to rely on the introduced food and trade goods. And so they find it necessary to pay lip-service to Christianity.

We are not concerned here with discussing in detail missionary endeavour in this region, because this would require a great deal more space than can be spared for it here. Readers interested in this form of contact should consult the relevant Government reports, as well as those issued by the Mission bodies themselves.[5] No scientific study of this problem has as yet been made in Australia. Here, however, we are interested only in broad principles. More detailed discussion of Mission and administrative policies, against a background of the general Australian situation, is given by Professor Elkin in his *Citizenship for the Aborigines*.[5a]

Mission activities before the recent War were virtually confined to establishing themselves on a more or less self-supporting basis. And since they were centres of white settlement, with them came many features of European culture. This is an important point to remember. These missionaries not only brought certain elements of their own Christian doctrine, but also carried with them the essential ingredients of their own culture. Whether or not the missionary desired it, the acceptance of Christianity by the Aborigines thus involved their simultaneous adoption of European ways, at the expense of their own culture and their own religion. If the Aborigines wanted to live in peaceful association with these missionaries and to receive their alleged benefits in the form of food, goods and education, they were obliged either to discard their own way of life or to adjust it in some way to changing conditions. In actual practice they were left with no alternative. Conditions were unsettled, alien influences demoralising, and tribal disintegration imminent. Gradually they drifted into the stations, hoping to take advantage of their presence, and at the same time to retain their traditional heritage.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

But it was not possible for any group, under the circumstances in which the Arnhem Landers found themselves, to have their cake and also to eat it.

The Missions were interested in gathering together groups of natives around the stations. Only in this way could settlements be built up, and the new ways firmly entrenched in the minds of the natives. They built houses in which to live, and churches in which to propagate their religion – for this was, after all, the main reason for their presence. Gardens were cultivated; and some of them engaged in trading; for missions had to be economically "safe", just like other forms of business. Schools at this period functioned very intermittently. Their range of subjects was limited and related primarily to religious training. Aboriginal children were not given a clear picture of European culture and its relation to the rest of the world, nor taught how to adjust themselves to these new conditions. Food was distributed either for work accomplished, or virtually as "bait" to attract natives to visit the stations, or to attend church or school. But on the whole the work of missionaries seems to have been dictated by purely humanitarian ideals.

The functioning of their stations depended greatly on the personality of the superintendents, and on their tolerant and sympathetic understanding of Aboriginal custom and belief. The Missions were acting as bulwarks against more unpleasant aspects of European and alien contact. They did demonstrate to the natives that all Europeans were not the same, and that some had more kindly intentions than others. Missionaries attended to the sick, the aged and the young. But these early years of Mission contact were mainly occupied with "digging in", with establishing their position and developing a formula by which to approach their problems. The natives had now a refuge to which they could retreat. In spite of all this, the presence of Missions did not prevent their contact with the Japanese and the European traders.

With the first raid on Darwin on 19 February 1942, when the North was thrown into confusion, Japanese trading activities ceased. Plans were made to evacuate female missionaries (as well as civilian women and children), and many of the mixed-bloods from Croker Island and Groote Eylandt; and the whole northern

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175 part of the Territory was placed under complete military control
648 as from 21 February of that year.[6]

The Aborigines of Arnhem Land soon realised this position. Some drifted back to the bush, while others stayed around the Missions, with their skeleton male staffs. Others again, particularly from the Roper River, from western and south-western Arnhem Land, and from Milingimbi, went overland to seek employment with the Army, and later on special Army native settlements were set up along the main North-South road.[7] The Missions tried to keep going, but owing to staff shortages their work was virtually at a standstill. Everything was subordinated to military control and activity. The Army made patrols out to Oenpelli, and to other places on the fringe of Arnhem Land. The Air Force set up bases at north Goulburn Island, near Oenpelli, at Gove (near Yirrkalla), in the Wessels, and on Groote Eylandt. At Gove, the largest of these, hundreds of Army, Naval and Air Force personnel were stationed or passed through, and came into direct contact with local Aborigines. Many of the natives themselves experienced something of the more unpleasant aspects of warfare. Milingimbi station was bombed, and in the Wessels three natives lost their lives when a missionary was taken prisoner on a Japanese seaplane. Naval boats patrolled the coast fairly regularly, and aeroplanes were a common sight to the natives.

175 Without dwelling at any length on this period, we may say
177 briefly that it brought with it further unsettlement. The Aborigines were thrown into intensive contact with a great many people belonging to a very different culture, and representing various shades of opinion and behaviour within that culture. Apart from physical appearances, they were in the natives' eyes quite unlike previous visitors. They were neither traders nor officials, police nor missionaries, but a group which, as far as the natives were concerned, was more or less disinterested. Some treated the local people in the way that Europeans usually did, and others looked on them rather as fellow human beings. Their services were required from time to time; they were employed in various ways, receiving payment in money or goods, and many of them also were given presents of various kinds.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

Military contact upset the Aborigines' economic system, and caused some disorganisation in their camp life. They were so thoroughly preoccupied with the intruders that certain features of indigenous life inevitably suffered. Or rather, perhaps, the disintegration that had really commenced early in the 19th century, and was intensified in the 1930's, was precipitated. Elements that had been weakened by this early strain were now yielding ground. Insubordination became common among younger men and women, and certain established codes of behaviour showed signs of collapse. Strange and novel aspects of European culture were thrust upon them, and often they were bewildered with what they saw, and confused at what they heard. The impact had been sudden, and not gradual as it had been in the past; and although these Arnhem Landers had been conditioned throughout the centuries against alien contact, they were not ready to receive it in such force, and at such speed, as this.

However, this military contact, which lasted for approximately four years, did have some beneficial effects. The Aborigines came to realise that European culture and opinion were not uniform and static, but existed in various forms. This was all to the good. Many of the natives developed a strong desire to learn more about European conditions, and how these affected their own way of life. In some instances they became articulate, and demanded some form of practical education and training through which they could achieve this knowledge; but this, of course, was not general. Many young men and women who sought these aims were classed as revolutionaries by older people, who believed that they were trying to weaken tribal authority and cast aside the traditional dictates of their group. It is true, too, that in some cases this was the underlying motive, a consequence of the unsettled period through which they had come. But there were some who genuinely desired to find means of adjusting themselves and their culture to European ways. They desired, indeed, something that few Europeans were capable of giving. Missionaries, administrative officers, and even anthropologists, had not gone deeply enough into the practical side of this problem.

The military forces, too, satisfied the Arnhem Landers' love of material possessions. To most of them, it was like a return to the

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

175 177 old Indonesian days of plenty. Organised work was available; and in return they received food, clothing, tobacco, and other objects which they considered necessary to their well-being. This proved to be another disintegrative feature, for indigenous forms of economy were disturbed, and the Aborigines came to rely on the European to supply their immediate needs. There was not, now, the urgent need to hunt and forage for food; and they tended to congregate fairly regularly in one place, usually on the Mission station or near the military settlement.

This particular form of contact is so recent that is is very difficult to see its problems in true perspective. It is possible only to observe the effects with care, and to conjecture as to the future.

175 177 797 Civilians were allowed to return to Darwin on 28 February 1946, and civil administration was resumed from the end of July 1945.[8] In the years that followed, up to the present day, the Missions have been concerned primarily with re-establishing themselves, after losing so much ground during the War period. Mission staffs were depleted, and only now are being built up again. New buildings had to be constructed, new gardens cultivated. In fact, all aspects of their work needed reconstruction. Some Missions suffered more than others; but actually all benefited from this renovating approach, for most were desperately in need of this even before the War. The old relatively lethargic ways of the past, although they were virtually pioneering days, had to go, if Mission contact was to be of constructive value to the Aborigines themselves. Saving souls for the indefinite future was really to no purpose; the natives required practical help in the problems which beset them. And today the majority of the missionaries realise this aspect of their work. They are educational and humanitarian agents of their culture, and their presentation of formal religion should take a secondary place.

000 If the long period of unsettlement in Arnhem Land is to end, if the new epoch of which we spoke previously is to continue, and if the Aborigines are to be adjusted to changing conditions and a European way of life, then the missionary and the administrator must have a common purpose: to develop among these Aborigines some understanding of European culture and ideals,

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

to retain the best elements in their own culture, to set them on a firm economic footing, and above all to allow them to think and act for themselves. These aspirations are, as yet, only embryonic. Whether or not they will come to fruition rests primarily on the European agencies within the boundaries of Arnhem Land, and those immediately interested in its future.

During the war years, then, Mission activity was at a standstill. Church services were still held, but schools and training centres are only now being properly organised. Here, again a co-ordinated plan is needed where educational activities are concerned, and recently the Commonwealth Office of Education has been paying some attention to this.

When the Armed Forces withdrew from the greater part of Arnhem Land, the Aborigines were thrown on to the resources of the Missions, and they looked to these centres to fill the gap. Now, as we have seen, many of them are coming to settle more or less permanently around the Mission settlements, and they are demanding employment so that they may maintain the standard of living to which they have grown accustomed. But so far none of the Mission stations has been able to employ all of these potential labourers, and none has adequate means of training them for this work that they desire. In present circumstances these stations can only take a certain number of employees. Before others can be absorbed, new industries must be developed. This, together with education, is one of the most urgent problems facing Missions and administrations today. Employment must be relatively permanent and also remunerative, if it is to have desirable results. There are many incidental problems to be considered as well.

Although some aspects of native traditional life are still virile today, others are showing signs of collapse. Past alien contact has left its mark on the indigenous culture. This is more obvious in western Arnhem Land than in the east, although even there certain elements have almost disappeared. But a well balanced educational approach, including occupational training, should help to arrest social and cultural disintegration, strengthen traditional ties, and provide strength to meet future demands.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

197 Today more Northern Territory missionaries and Native Affairs' officers are going out on to the field with these ideas in mind, assisted by some elementary training in anthropology. This is a beginning that promises well for the future. But some missionaries are still distrustful of anthropological methods, and view with uneasiness any plans for the eventual independence of the Aborigines.

In the past, and even now, it has been the practice of the Methodist Overseas Mission to employ Fijian missionaries on its Arnhem Land stations. This has brought about an additional problem. Contact of alien groups with Arnhem Landers has through the years been sufficiently complex without adding still further elements. Such Fijians have tried, often unconsciously, to re-create the conditions of their homeland, to surround themselves with an artificial environment that bears little relation to the problems of the Aborigines.

In 1946 it was proposed to establish a training centre at Gove Settlement, near Yirrkalla, where the Native Affairs' Branch had taken over quantities of Air Force equipment. This in itself was an excellent idea. But the choice of area was unsatisfactory, and being close to the Mission station aroused considerable hostility among the Methodists in the South as well as in the Territory. Today the plans for this ambitious project have been shelved, although it is said that they have not been entirely abandoned. Mission schools are only just beginning to function again, and the Arnhem Landers have no opportunity of availing themselves of secular education.

177 Since the recent War, Arnhem Land has been the focal point of anthropological and other expeditions. Apart from the work of Professor A. P. Elkin and the present writers, in eastern and western Arnhem Land, the Aborigines have been subjected to the large National Geographic party, composed of Australians and Americans. Just what bearing this work will have on the future of Arnhem Land and its people has yet to be seen. Moreover, writers and photographers have travelled through Arnhem Land, although their contact has been relatively superficial. Patrols have been made by members of the Native Affairs' Branch, especially in the Liverpool River district, and around the Cato River near

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

Yirrkalla; and the Government patrol vessel *Kuru* has travelled at intervals along the coast. There is talk, too, of establishing a new Church Missionary Society Leper Station at Bickerton Island, near Groote, instead of sending local people in need of treatment away to the Channel Island Leprosarium in Darwin Harbour.

The natives are still receiving a fair amount of European contact, apart from the missionaries and Native Affairs' patrol officers. But this is quite unlike what they experienced before the War. There is not, as yet, the same economic exploitation once indulged in by Japanese and European traders. Arnhem Land has been closed to outside commercial undertakings, and there is a feeling today that the natives should be able themselves to exploit their land and marine products, and to develop industries which will be remunerative to themselves. But in such a plan there are many pitfalls. Recently, for example, European pearlers and trepangers have been permitted by the Administration a base at Truant Island, to the north-east of the English Company Islands, and to engage as employees a certain number of local natives. Crocodile shooters are creeping in too, slipping along the coast and down the tidal rivers. And the Aborigines are wondering, with mixed feelings, if this will be the thin edge of the wedge, and whether the old days will return.

From the verbal literature of the Aborigines and the written data of the Europeans we have been able to learn something of the colourful past of the Arnhem Land coast. The unknown has been pushed back to a time when the Great South Land of Australia was still unvisited by Dutch, Portuguese and other Europeans – a time when intercourse with the outside world was at a minimum and, according to local mythology, the great Spirit Beings moved about the land.

We have been concerned primarily with the Arnhem Landers as they were and as they are. The problems emerge themselves from our study; and with them – if we are to learn from mistakes of the past – some of their solutions. The stage is set for almost anything. The administration and the Missions have it in their power to implement a policy which will be of lasting benefit to

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

000 these people; and it rests with them whether the Aborigines will be plunged into another period of unrest, or will gradually become adjusted to changing conditions. If they were completely 177 segregated, cut off from the outside world, their society and culture would in time recover their equilibrium. But they cannot live under such artificial circumstances today. Even if their Reserve is officially inviolable, influences are being brought to bear upon them from within and beyond its boundaries. There are missionaries, Government and police officials, passing ships, medical men, scientists, and other visitors; and for the most part less directly associated with these natives, but important in their ultimate effects, are the men (and women) of the Territory who would like to see the Reserve, with its 31,200 square miles, thrown open once more to European enterprise and activity.

006 As the Northern Territory develops, the very existence of this Reserve must from time to time come under review. There will be (as there has been) commercial pressure on the Government by firms and individuals anxious to exploit its economic potentialities.

To the citizen of the South, and even to the Territorian, Arnhem Land is still a glamorous land of mystery, the site, perhaps, of untold wealth. Still rumours will come of reefs of untouched gold, reminiscent of those that started the fruitless search of the Robinson prospecting party in 1875-76. The story of oil will be revived, and people will remember the Naptha Petroleum Company on Elcho Island. Wolfram and tin miners will still decry the boundaries of a Reserve that keep them from the rich seams which they envisage there; and even recently there have been rumours of radio-active minerals in southern Arnhem Land.

What of the interior of Arnhem Land, explorers and prospectors will ask? For few Europeans have traversed its rugged plateaux, and parts are still completely unknown. What of the manganese collected by the Macassans, and the rich cypress forests that are comparatively untouched? What of the cattle combines in search of new land to run their hordes, thinking of the fertile plains around the old Florida station in the Arafura

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

country, and the pastures of the Cobourg Cattle Company? And the tourist companies, brooding on the exotic coast-line from which they are excluded, will redouble their efforts to obtain a foothold.

But the greatest prize lies comparatively untouched and unexploited since the Japanese fishers departed: the abundance of marine products – trepang, pearl-shell, seed-pearls, tortoise-shell and the like. Here is a territory with hundreds of miles of coast-line, from which the Indonesian traders in past years obtained so rich a harvest; a coast-line which employed, before the last war, hundreds of Japanese.

Nevertheless, Arnhem Land must remain a country for the Arnhem Landers alone, a people who are bound to its inhospitable inland as to its coastal areas by traditional and spiritual ties, who have fought to retain their integrity and their territorial rights. And now, to maintain these hereditary rights, and achieve even a stronger grip on the land, they must exploit its natural resources themselves. In this respect they are dependent on the Europeans around them, for they require training and educational facilities, allied to a sympathetic approach, during this period of transition. And when the time comes, when they have succeeded in adjusting themselves to the conditions that have been forced upon them, then at last they may share with us the benefits of their country's resources, as fellow citizens of the Commonwealth.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

POSTSCRIPT

648 Since the writing of this volume some changes have taken place in the administration of the Arnhem Land Reserve, while several scientific surveys have been made to various parts of it. Certain areas have been opened to European infiltration. The Australian Aluminium Commission has been permitted to prospect for bauxite in the vicinity of Melville Bay and Castlereagh Bay, as well as on Marchinbar Island in the Wessels. Mineral workings have begun near the Bulman, north-east of Mainoru, in southern Arnhem Land. Pearling rights have been granted in the vicinity of Truant Island not far from Cape Arnhem, and Japanese pearling fleets are returning to work the rich Arafura Sea.

The Commonwealth Government has now decided to vary the provisions relating to the control of mineral resources on Aboriginal reserves. "If any part of a native reserve has ceased to be necessary for the use and benefit of the natives it may be severed from the reserve and, if mining takes place on the severed portion, royalties will be paid into a special fund to be applied to the welfare of the natives. The method of revocation has been made subject to strict safeguards involving successively a report by the Director of Native Welfare, a recommendation by the Administrator, approved by the Minister and notification to the Commonwealth Parliament."[a]

All this means that another Chapter in the history of the remaining 4000 odd Aborigines of Arnhem Land has begun.

000 For these Arnhem Landers the effects of the past cannot be completely eradicated. Such effects have indeed moulded current

[a] Second Native Welfare Conference in Canberra on 29 September 1952; *Native Welfare in Australia*, by Paul Hasluck, Minister for Territories, Perth 1953.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

attitudes. The promises of a new era, in our terms, are still only dimly understood. It thus remains for Government administration, anthropologists and missionaries to watch and guide these new forms of contact along avenues that will be beneficial to the Arnhem Land people themselves.

If this volume has indicated some of the problems involved, that in itself should serve as a potent factor in leading to a constructive understanding.

RONALD M. BERNDT
CATHERINE H. BERNDT

Department of Anthropology,
University of Sydney.
1953.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

113

[1] *Vide*, for example, E. Scott, *A Short History of Australia*, 1829, Chapter 11; J. E. Heeres, *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia*, London 1899; G. A. Wood, *Discovery of Australia*, London 1923; and A. Grenfell Price, *The History and Problems of the Northern Territory of Australia, The John Murtagh Macrossan Lectures, 1930*, Adelaide, 1930, p. 2.

The first Dutch vessel known to have visited the Australian coast, in the vicinity of the eastern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria, was the "Duyfken", commanded by Jansz. Zeachern, in the "Mauritius", landed and named Arnheim Land at the western point of the opening of the Gulf. Elsewhere it is said that the region derives its name from the Dutch vessel "Aernem" which in company with the "Pera" coasted round the Gulf in 1623, under the command of Cartensz.

[2] See, for example, Knut Dahl, *In Savage Australia, An Account of a Hunting and Collecting Expedition to Arnhem Land and Dampier Land*, London 1926, p. xii.

[3] M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis, etc.*, London 1814, 2 vols.; and P. King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia*, performed between the years 1818-1822, London 1826.

[4] I. Idriess, *Man Tracks*, Sydney 1936, and *In Crocodile Land*, Sydney 1946.

[5] C. Barrett, *Coast of Adventure*, Melbourne 1941. This is probably the best of the "popular" books on this subject.

[6] W. F. Harney, *North of 21°*, Sydney 1946, and *Brimming Billabongs*, Sydney 1947.

[7] A. Marshall, *Ourselves Writ Strange*, Melbourne 1948.

[8] C. Warburton, *Buffalo Trail*, Sydney, undated.

[9] E. Hill, *The Territory*, Sydney 1951.

[10] C. Simpson, *Adam in Ochre*, Sydney 1951.

[11] C. Fenton, *Flying Doctor*, Sydney 1948, scattered references.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

[12] That is, documentary evidence in the South Australian Archives Department of the Public Library, e.g., *Northern Territory Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence, Official Reports,* etc. Also early newspaper references, and data in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. *Vide* also *South Australian Parliamentary* and *Government Reports,* and those of the Northern Territory Government Resident.

[13] A. Searcy, *In Northern Seas,* Adelaide 1905, reprinted from the *Register* newspaper (South Australia).

Another volume by Searcy, *In Australian Tropics* (London 1907), presents the same data, with certain additional remarks that refer mainly to other parts of the Northern Territory. A third volume, *By Flood and Field* (Melbourne 1911), contains what purport to be personal reminiscences: thus Searcy tells how he was shipwrecked off the coast of western Arnhem Land, witnessed a Malay massacre, and lived some time (pp. 15-39) with local Aborigines. However, some of the experiences he relates appear in semi-fictional guise, and do not conform with earlier accounts given by himself and other (official) sources. Thus his description of the "Cape Brogden massacre" (see later) seems to be out of chronological order, and he states also that he himself was present at the time. For that reason, we have quoted only sparingly from this volume. However, *In Northern Seas* is his first publication and is more fully documented, and more references have therefore been cited from it.

[14] For example, T. T. Webb, *Spears to Spades,* 1938, and W. S. Chaseling, *Children of Arnhem Land,* 1939. *Vide* also Methodist Overseas Mission and Church Missionary Society journals for information relating to their activities.

[15] W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilisation,* New York, 1937.

[16] Chiefly in the form of Government Reports: *vide Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land,* 1936-37, Northern Territory of Australia 1939; *Recommendations of Policy in Native Affairs in the Northern Territory of Australia,* 1937-38; *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia,* 1935-36, Department of the Interior, Canberra, 1936; and *Report of the Administration of the Northern Territory for Year 1944-45,* Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1946-47. See also D. Thomson, *Economic Structure and the Ceremonial Exchange Cycle in Arnhem Land,* Melbourne 1949, pp. 1-106, also in *Man,* Vol. LII, 1952, pp. 1-5.

[17] B. Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory,* 1914, and *Wanderings in Wild Australia,* 2 vols. 1928.

[18] Professor A. P. Elkin has worked in south-western Arnhem Land, having headed several expeditions of which the personnel included photographers and sound recorders, as well as other workers in allied fields. The American-Australian Expedition to Arnhem Land was led by Mr C. P. Mountford and Dr Frank Setzler, and numbered among its members Mr

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

113 F. D. McCarthy; none of their anthropological results have to date (1952) been published. In 1952 Dr Waterman and his wife are investigating Aboriginal music at Yirrkalla, in north-eastern Arnhem Land.

Dr A. E. Capell of the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, has carried out linguistic work in this region: see, for example, The Classification of Languages in North and North-West Australia, *Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 3, and Vol. X, No. 4; and Languages of Arnhem Land, North Australia, *Oceania*, Vol. XII, No. 4, and Vol. XIII, No. 1.

For publications on Arnhem Land see R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 309-26; Carved Secular Human Figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 213-222; Discovery of Pottery in North Eastern Arnhem Land, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2, 1947 (pub. 1951), pp. 133-138; C. and R. Berndt, An Oenpelli Monologue: Culture Contact, *Oceania*, Vol. XXII, pp. 24-52; R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16-50; Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103; Ceremonial Exchange in Western Arnhem Land, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 156-176; C. Berndt, Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women, *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286-332; A Drama of North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 3 and 4. Many other articles are scattered through anthropological journals. Volumes: A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, Melbourne and University of Chicago Press, 1950; R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 16) New York, 1951, pp. 1-247; R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Melbourne and International Universities Press, New York, 1951; *Djanggawul*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1952, and *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (for publication); C. Berndt, *Married Life in An Australian Tribe* (for publication). See also W. E. Harney and A. P. Elkin, *Songs of the Songmen*, Melbourne 1949.

CHAPTER 2

[1] The reader who is particularly interested in the social organisation and kinship terminology of the eastern and western Arnhem Land people is referred to the following works:

For western Arnhem Land, see A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Social Organisation of Australian Tribes, *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 330-31 (and also *Oceania Monograph* No. 1, 1930); R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, pp. 69-78; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, Social Organisation of Arnhem Land, 1. Western Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, pp. 253-301.

For eastern Arnhem Land, see L. Warner, *A Black Civilisation*, pp. 3-124, and Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 33, 2; T. T. Webb, Tribal Organisation

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

REFERENCES

in Eastern Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 406-411; A. P. Elkin, Marriage and Descent in East Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 412-416; D. Thomson, *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of the Interior, Canberra, 1936, pp. 31-34; W. E. Lawrence and G. P. Murdock, Murngin Social Organisation, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 58-65; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Murngin Social Organisation, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 37-55; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, Social Organisation of Arnhem Land, 2. North-Central Arnhem Land, *Oceania;* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, pp. 2-6, and *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*.

For Arnhem Land generally, see A. P. Elkin, The Complexity of Social Organisation in Arnhem Land, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 3-16.

For general references: see A. P. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines*, Sydney 1938, and Kinship in South Australia, *Oceania Bound Reprint*, Sydney 1940; P. Kaberry, *Aboriginal Woman*, London 1939; R. and C. Berndt, A Preliminary Report of Field Work in the Ooldea Region, Western South Australia, *Oceania Bound Reprint*, Sydney 1945, pp. 1-343; *From Black to White in South Australia*, Melbourne and University of Chicago Press, 1951; *The First Australians*, Sydney 1952; C. Berndt. *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, L'Homme, No. 1, Paris 1950.

[2] The reader is referred to *Art in Arnhem Land* by A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, which concerns a brief survey of particular art forms and their sociological significance in the region under discussion.

CHAPTER 3

[1] The most important references in literature concerning this contact are found in M. Flinders, *op. cit.* pp. 172 *et seq.*; A Searcy, *op. cit.* pp. 5-11, 39-42; L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 451-471 and N. B. Tindale, The Natives of Groote Eylandt and the West Coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, *Records of the South Australian Museum*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1926.

Professor Lloyd Warner underestimates the influence of Malay and Macassan contact on the indigenous Aboriginal cultures of Arnhem Land.

A certain amount of documentary evidence dealing with the last phase of Macassan contact is to be found in the South Australian Archives.

[2] Aborigines say that these imported fowls were the progenitors of the modern jungle-fowl, but this seems unlikely.

[3] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 456-458, for a brief sketch of the economic organisation of the Malay traders.

[4] R. and C. Berndt, Card Games Among Aborigines of the Northern Territory, *Oceania*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, p. 249.

[5] A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

113 [6] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Carved (Secular) Human figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2; and also A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*.

[7] Re notes by Dr Held and Professor Cense (University of Indonesia): communication and conversation with the former. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, pp. 38-45.

[8] E.g., L. Warner, *op. cit.* p. 467.

[9] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* p. 457.

[10] *Vide* Report by Dr Strangman, who made a medical survey along the north and east coast of Arnhem Land in 1908, one year after the Indonesian traders ceased to visit these shores. (175/1908, Report on Condition of Aborigines, *Northern Territory Incoming Correspondence*, South Australian Archives.) This subject has been discussed briefly in *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land* (R. and C. Berndt), pp. 43-45, where reference is made to the introduction of venereal disease into western Arnhem Land.

164 Dr Strangman examined eastern Arnhem Land Aborigines at Caledon Bay, Blue Mud Bay and Cape Shields, and found no evidence of venereal disease. On Groote Eylandt he "could see little evidence of venereal or other disease; a few natives had genital or inguinal sores covered with soft granulation tissue which projected above the skin surface (pseudo granulomata)". "These growths", he adds, "are either a local infection or the result of broken down inguinal glands, which have a tendency to heal spontaneously with improved health when the affected natives migrate to better country with abundant food".

[11] M. Flinders, *op. cit.* pp. 228-233.

113 [12] E.g., A. Grenfell-Price, The History and Problems of the Northern Territory, *The John Murtagh Macrossan Lectures*, 1930, Adelaide 1930, p. 2.

[13] *Vide* R. Berndt, Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103, and A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*.

[14] *Vide* P. P. King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia, etc.*, London 1826; T. B. Wilson, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, etc., London 1835; G. W. Earl, Notes on Northern Australia and Neighbouring Seas, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1837, Vol. XII, pp. 139-41; G. W. Earl, *Enterprise in Tropical Australia*, London 1846; J. L. Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia, with an account of the coasts and rivers explored and surveyed during the voyage of H.M.S. Beagle* . . . London 1846; A. C. Gregory, North Australian Expedition, *South Australian Parliamentary Paper* No. 170 of 1861; E. A. Oppen, *A Description of the Northern Territory of South Australia*, 1864; F. Carrington, The Rivers of the Northern Territory, *Proclamation of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (South Australian Branch)*, 1886-87, pp. 55-76; D. Lindsay, An Expedition Across Australia . . . *Journal*

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

REFERENCES

of the Royal Geographical Society, London 1889, Vol. XI, p. 650; D. Lindsay, Explorations in the Northern Territory, *Proclamation of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (South Australian Branch)*, 1887-8, pp. 1-16; *National Association to Federalise the Northern Territory*, Melbourne 1901, pp. 1-40. See also *South Australian Parliamentary Papers*, Cadell, Nos. 178 of 1867, 24, 79 and 79A of 1868-9; D. Lindsay, No. 239 of 1883-4; H.M.S. Beatrice, Nos. 18 of 1865, 84 of 1865-66 and 79 of 1866-7; Carrington, 1884-6 (Government Residents' Reports); T. Gill, *Bibliography of the Northern Territory of South Australia*, Adelaide, 1905 and 1912; A. Searcy, *In Northern Seas*, Adelaide 1905; A. Grenfell-Price, *op. cit.* pp. 1-28 and 59-67 (notes and references). 113

[15] *Vide* A. Searcy, *op. cit.*, various references; *Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence of the Northern Territory Administration*, South Australian Archives.

[16] *Vide* A. Searcy, *op. cit.*, and *Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence of the Northern Territory Administration*, S.A. Archives, e.g., 64 of 1905, etc.

[17] D. Thomson, *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, Appendix I, p. 21, mentions the police at Caledon Bay. The incident referred to in the above text, however, occurred earlier.

[18] *Vide* I. L. Idriess, *Man Tracks*, pp. 222-283: much of this information is not fully accurate; also W. E. Harney, *North of 23°*, pp. 110-177. Mr Harney was himself a trepanger just prior to the 1930's.

[19] *Vide* D. Thomson, *Report of Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, pp. 1-23. See reference to general unrest, Appendix III, p. 23. This writer states that, "Owing to the influence of outside contacts to which these natives have been repeatedly subjected recently, there is at the present time a great deal of unrest among the tribes of Arnhem Land . . ." See his *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of Interior, Canberra 1936 (see p. 15 referring to Woodah Island murder and Macassan contact). 000

[20] This had been proclaimed an inviolable Commonwealth Aboriginal Reserve in 1931.

[21] See particularly D. Thomson, *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, pp. 14-15. This contains almost the only reliable published information on Japanese contact with natives during this period, with the exception of certain other Government *Reports*. L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 468 notes only that Japanese contact occurs.

[22] *Vide Darwin Drama*, by Owen Griffiths (1947).

[23] There seems to have been a genuine feeling of respect and liking for

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

the Indonesians generally, and today their bad points are overlooked and the old days romanticised.

Dr Thomson (in *Recommendations of Policy in Native Affairs in the Northern Territory of Australia*, Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1937-38, p. 7) states: "Not only had the Malay or Macassar influence among these people extended over a very long period, but that these early voyagers who visited the North Australian coast each year with the north-west monsoon, were able to work with the natives of the Arnhem Land coast, to exert a profound influence upon their culture, which remains today, and to leave behind them a tradition of respect which the white man has unhappily not been able to inspire in his subsequent dealings with these people".

[24] Dr Thomson (*Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, p. 12) has something to say on one aspect of this subject: "But an example of the danger of interference by strangers and the complications that may arise from ignorance of customary behaviour, was brought to my notice when a man in coming to me with a complaint about the Japanese invaders on the reserve told me that they knew no shame, for not only did they openly solicit women, but they solicited a woman in the presence of her brother. This is an incomprehensible thing to a native, the penalty for which would be death—although in the native society itself it is inconceivable that such a thing ever could occur".

Vide L. Warner, *op. cit.* p. 467.

[25] This conventionalised segregation of the sexes at Groote Eylandt, in the old pre-Mission days, is associated with the Spirit Woman Wuratilagu. She also made an appearance on the mainland, but her cult did not flourish there. However, she has been accepted and identified with another female spirit, and today is the subject of a long song cycle.

[26] Professor Warner (*op. cit.* p. 468) insists that (in 1926-29) alien contact made little impression on indigenous life. One must remember that most of his field work was carried out in the Milingimbi region and not in the north-eastern corner, centred about Yirrkalla, where there was then no Mission station. Even so, it is difficult to understand such statements as these: "It is surprising to the investigator to find little evidence of miscegenation among the blacks and Malays in north-east Arnhem Land". And "since the rapacious civilisation of the West cannot produce half-castes in this region, it is less probable that the more gentle Malay culture would produce racial hybrids in North Australia". "The influence of the Malay race and culture has not been important in north-eastern Arnhem Land. There are but slight traces of hybridisation in race or culture. The greatest influence is found in the material culture, and the least in the social institutions of Murngin (a term which Professor Warner uses for these people) civilisation. Compared with the total number of traits found in Aboriginal culture, those added from the more eastern civilisation are very

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

few indeed and, with the exception of the dugout (canoe) complex, have had no significant influence on the development of Murngin civilisation. On the other hand, when an examination is made of the even larger number of traits found in Malay culture, and they are contrasted with the very few adopted by the Murngin from the Malays, it becomes even further demonstrable that Murngin civilisation remained very near to what is was before the Malay arrived, and that the Malay gave little of his own civilisation to Aboriginal Australia". Just how Professor Warner arrived at this conclusion, with so much evidence pointing in the opposite direction, is beside the point in this study; and we shall not linger here in discussion of his statements.

[27] No cases were mentioned by Dr Strangman (*op. cit.*), nor directly from this area by Dr Thomson. The latter mentions the danger of the introduction of such diseases from the East (by Japanese), but not specifically their occurrence in this region. (*Vide Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, p. 15 and p. 16.) See also R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land.*

[28] There is, of course, the incidence of leprosy, yaws, tropical ulcers, etc., and the prevalence of such epidemics as measles, whooping cough, influenza, common colds and so on. The Aborigines have little or no immunity to such introduced diseases. (See also Thomson, *op. cit.* pp. 16-17.)

[29] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Native Labour and Welfare in the Northern Territory*, duplicated manuscript for private distribution, Sydney 1946, pp. 68-71, 92-98, 100-102, 153-165, and 289-294.

[30] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 155-190. Professor Warner mentions (pp. 155-6), ". . . polygyny is possible under present conditions only because of warfare, and the resultant scarcity of women". The first part of this statement holds good for north-eastern Arnhem Land; but in the region from Arnhem Bay to Blue Mud Bay it was chiefly the male population which diminished as a result of warfare. Only occasionally were women speared. A detailed study of depopulation in relation to warfare, and its bearing on family life and sexual behaviour will be given later: see, for example, R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land.*

Dr Thomson (*Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of Interior, Canberra, 1936, pp. 42-44, and *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, pp. 6-15, 16 and 18) has mentioned the subject of depopulation in this region. His contention is that alien contact (principally Japanese and European), the breaking down of traditional ways, and the collapse of clan structure, together with introduced epidemics, have diminished the native population of this region.

[pp. 212 – 227 not processed]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

Japanese killing of the previous year, and Gray persuaded them to surrender to police to save punishment of the whole tribe. The Mission lugger "Holly" was thought to be a police boat. It was not until March-April of the next year that Gray brought in the Caledon Bay Aborigines for trial in Darwin.

CHAPTER 16

[1] Idriess briefly mentions the Caledon Bay massacre in *Man Tracks* (pp. 228-243), but many of his statements are misleading.

[2] From the journal of Mr Fred Gray, trepanger, entitled "Bringing in the Caledons", *Northern Standard*, 20 April 1934.

[3] This Mission station was not retained. However, in 1934 the following references are found in the Groote Eylandt Mission *Records*. On 28 September 1934 Mr Gray and Mr Smith in the "Oituli", with Sam Doleton from Darwin, and some Milingimbi boys, reached Groote. On 31 October Mr Gray returned from Bickerton Island, and on 31 December the "Holly" left for Caledon Bay with Mr Gray, Mr Taylor, Miss Dove (from the Groote Eylandt Half-Caste Settlement), Mr Smith and half-castes Harold, Fred, Harry and Virgil. They returned to Groote on 3 January and reported a very successful journey. They called in at Trial Bay and held a church service, and planted pines and coconuts; then they proceeded to Cape Grey and met over eighty natives; here another service was held, pictures shown, and on the following day there were games, etc.

[4] It will be remembered that the Groote Eylandt Mission received a message relating to Gray's wreck on 23 February 1934.

[5] Wonggu has received a certain amount of publicity within recent years, mainly owing to the reports of Dr Donald Thomson, and became notorious for his large number of wives. He was at Yirrkalla during the writers' period of field research (1946-47).

[6] *Northern Standard*, 25 May 1934.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1 June 1934.

[8] *Ibid.*, 5 June 1934.

[9] *Ibid.*, 3 August 1934.

[10] *Groote Eylandt Mission Records.*

[11] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 17

[1] *The Aboriginals and Half-Castes of Central and North Australia, Report* by J. W. Bleakley, 1928, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1929, No. 21.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

REFERENCES

[2] *Conference of representatives of Missions, Societies, and Associations interested in the welfare of Aboriginals to consider the report and recommendations submitted to the Commonwealth Government by J. W. Bleakley, Convened by the Minister of State for Home Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia*, Commonwealth of Australia, typescript; 12 April 1929. 113

[3] For a general discussion of Japanese relations with Australia in respect of trade and so on, see Australian and Oriental Immigration 1900-34 by M. Hentze in *Australia and the Far East, Diplomatic and Trade Relations*, edited by I. Clunies Ross, Sydney 1935.

[4] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 September 1933.

[5] *Northern Standard*, 15 September 1933, in an article entitled: A Protection for Missionaries.

[6] The *Melbourne Argus*, 2 October 1933.

[7] *Bulletin*, Sydney, 16 May 1934, reprinted in the *Northern Standard* of 8 June 1934.

[8] Old Time Memories, The Aboriginal, Past and Present, by C. F. Gaunt, *Northern Standard*, 8 June 1934. The issues of the *Northern Standard* before the last war are a veritable storehouse of data relating to Aboriginal-European contact.

[9] *The Labor Daily*, Sydney, 30 May 1933, and *Northern Standard*, 27 June 1933.

[10] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 November 1933.

[11] See *Northern Standard* 20 April 1934.

[12] *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia, 1935-36*, by D. Thomson, 9 April 1936, Department of the Interior, Canberra; typescript.

[13] *Ibid.* pp. 45-46.

[13a] In 1935 the position of chief medical officer was offered to a doctor who had some interest in anthropology, but this was declined. In 1951, however, a medical officer was finally appointed to serve as a "Flying Doctor" and keep in touch with all the main Aboriginal camps in the Territory.

[14] *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land, 1936-37*, by D. Thomson, The Northern Territory of Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, No. 337.

[15] *Ibid.* pp. 14-15, *et passim.*

[16] C. Barrett, *Coast of Adventure*, pp. 94-96, mentions a Japanese lugger in the Wessels.

[17] *Recommendations of Policy in Native Affairs in the Northern Territory of Australia*, by D. Thomson, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne, December 1937, Canberra 1937-38, No. 56, p. 7

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

000

[18] *Ibid.* pp. 1-8.

[19] W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization.*

113

[20] We are not taking into account here the work of Sir Baldwin Spencer on the western fringe of Arnhem Land (i.e., in his *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, 1914).

CHAPTER 18

[1] This missionary (Rev. Confalonière) had some contact with the natives of the Cobourg Peninsula, and translated into the local dialect a manuscript prayer-book, a short Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Creed, Ten Commandments, and short history of the Passion of our Redeemer. *Vide* Presidential Address to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, (South Australian Branch). Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 29 October 1915, by Hon. John Lewis: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia* (*S.A. Branch*), 28th Session, 1914, Adelaide 1915, pp. 40-41.

[2] Government Resident, *Report on the Northern Territory for 1900*; Appendices: Aborigines.

[3] W. S. Chaseling, *Children of Arnhem Land*, Sydney 1939, p. 54.

000

[4] We are not dealing here with the matter of "mixed-bloods", because a number of these children were brought to Croker Island from other parts of the Northern Territory: and their problems need a separate study, taking in other areas as well.

113

[5] E.g., J. W. Bleakley's *Report*, op. cit. 1928; T. T. Webb, *Spears to Spades*, Sydney 1938; W. S. Chaseling, *op. cit.*; and the journals of the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Overseas Mission.

[5a] A. P. Elkin, *Citizenship for the Aborigines, A National Aboriginal Policy*, Sydney 1944; e.g., Chapter 5 and Appendix 4.

[6] *Report on the Administration of the Northern Territory for the year ended 30th June 1942.*

[7] *Vide Native Employment and Welfare in the Northern Territory*, by R. and C. Berndt; also Special Survey of Army-Controlled Settlements in the Northern Territory, 1945-46, unpublished report.

[8] *Report on Administration of the Northern Territory for the year ending 30th June 1946.*

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

INDEX OF PERSONS

Abbot, Const., 107
Abdoolah, 129
Ahmat, 121
Andrew (interpreter), 169
Angarida, 117-120
Arambun, 118
Asari, 157

Baal, J. van, 215
Balubalu, 59
Baludjuga, 59
Baluga, 59
Bapanne (Babani), 165
Bapa Palee, 80-82
Barani, 135, 137, 140, 142-43, 145-47, 149, 151, 161-162
Bareidjalg, 160
Barrett, Charles, 4, 204, 224, 229
Bell, Norman C., 166, 169
Big Jack, 119
Bill (police boy), 151
Birindjauwi, 57
Bleakley, J. W., 177, 228-30
Boni, Rajah of, 72
Borrodaile (party), 130-31, 225
Bridgeland, Sgt., 105, 107, 223
Bridson, C., 94
Brown, Alfred, 52, 86, 109, 120, 215
Bull, J. W., 221
Bulnug, 169
Bunggalumpa, 53
Bungalorinja, Billy, 169
Bunggasinga, 57
Bununggu, 154, 159, 175
Buramara, 155

Cadell, Captain, 75, 95, 209, 212, 214, 217, 221
Cahill, Paddy, 26, 100, 132, 191, 226
Campbell, Jim, 131-32
Campbell, Major, 216, 220
Capell, A., 206
Carrington, Captain F., 97-98, 208
Carrodus, J., 185
Cense, Professor, 208
Charley, "Sit-down" (Djaladjari), 51, 54, 56, 59, 61
Chaseling, W. S., 205, 230
Clara, 105-6
Cleland, J., 86, 88
Confalonière, Rev. D. Angelo, 190, 230
Cook, Dr. Cecil, 143-44, 166, 172, 174
Cooper, Reuben, 26
Cooper, Charlie, 69
Cottingham, Lewis, 91-92, 221-22

Daeng Matoona, 81
Dagiar (Tuckiar), 135-40, 142-52, 161-62, 164-67, 175, 226-27
Dahl, Knut, 204
Dainasi, 42
Daly, L. D., 220
Danaka (Tanaka), 158, 166-168, 170, 175
Dandruwung (or Diendjadi), 52-53
Dangadji, 161, 175
Dara, 57
Darroch, D., 223
Dashwood, C. J., 100-1, 226
Davis, Harry, 127
Davis, Jack, 127
Deintumba, 56-57
Dela, 121
de Lancourt, J. C., 107

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

Dick, 70
Dick (tracker), 142, 157
Djaladjari, See Charley, "Sit-down"
Djalwar, 154
Djargudjargu, 154
Djeidja, See Dagiar
Djimbarjun (Jim Barion), 136, 138-40
Djinini, 161
Djirin, 156, 160-62, 175
Djugudjugu, 59
Djuwalji, 154, 161-62
Doleton, Sam, 228
"Dongetta", 175
Doni, See Spencer: 125, 226
Douglas, Lieut., 220
Douglas, 105
Douglass (Gov. Res.), 217
Dove, Miss, 228
Duda, 57
Duramit, 117-19
Dyer, Rev. A. J., 134, 136-37, 139, 142, 145, 150-51, 162, 164-65, 167, 171, 173-175, 180, 227

Earl, G. W., 73, 208, 216, 220
Elkin, A. P. (Professor), iii, 5, 146, 185, 192, 198, 205-8, 226, 230
Erangu, 160
Erindali, 160
Evenson, O., 94

Fagan, W., 134-36, 164, 173, 179, 226-27
Fenton, Clyde, 4, 204
Finnegan, Tim, 102
Fitzgerald, W. J. P., 138-40, 142-44, 146-8, 170, 172-173, 227
Flinders, (Captain) Sir Mathew, 4, 19, 72-73, 123, 204, 207-8, 216, 225.
Foelsche, Insp. Paul, 117, 120, 222
Foster, Horace, 106-7
Franci, 107
Freese, J. H., 214

Gadari, 56
Galaguramin, "Basil", 161-62
Ganbaraidj, 162
Gander, 169
George, 160
Giles, A. J., 92
Gill, Thomas, 216, 220
Gordon, 166
Gore, Charles E., 86-88, 213
Goyder, Surveyor-General, 222
Graham, M. Const., 137, 180
Gray, Fred, 106, 108, 135-136, 139, 159-62, 164, 166-75, 224, 227-28
Gregory, A. C., 208
Gregory, F., 94
Griffiths, Owen, 209
Gungoilma, 160, 170
Guramola, 42
Gwodei, 154-55
Gwuramada, 158

Haddon, A. C., 215
Hall, V., 134, 137, 140-43, 146, 149, 181, 226-27
Harney, W. E. (Bill), 4, 106-7, 157, 159, 204, 206, 209, 224
Harold Hamilton (interpreter), 150-51, 228
Harris, J. S., 137, 140-41, 143
Harry (from Milingimbi), 138-39, 143-44, 146-50, 167
Harry (interpreter), 102
Hasluck, Paul, 202
Heathcote, M. Const., 107, 157
Heeres, J. E., 204
Held, G. J., 208
Hendershot, V. E., 214
Hentze, M., 229
Herbert, C. E., 101
Hill, Ernestine, 4, 204
Home, E., 220
Housden, J. A. S., 150
Howard, D., 220
Howitt, A. W., 214

Idriess, Ion L., 4, 204, 209, 223, 226, 228
Inamori, 170, 174
Indjiwaraki, 117-20

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

INDEX

Jack, 70
Jadjung, 52-53, 57
Jago, 76
Jalbar, 160
Jama, 154, 175
Jamaduda, 56
Jaming, 111
Jennison, Rev. J. C., 108
Johnston's camp, 100
Joynt, 108

Kaberry, P., 207
Kapundur, 117-20
Kelly, H. J., 223
Kindju (or Kinjo), 158, 166, 168, 170-71, 175
King, Phillip P., 4, 204, 208, 216
Kimasima (or Kimishima), 158, 168, 170, 175
Koop (Police Prosecutor), 166, 169
Kulardnu, 118-20
Kulumu, 128

Ladd, 224
Langdon, Const., 107
"Larrikin", 115-16
Larrikin, 119
Laululawa, 112
Lawrence, W. E., 207
Leichhardt, L., 220
Lennox, 190
Lewis, 101, 132
Lewis, John, 216, 221, 230
Levi, 94
Lindsay, David, 96, 208, 209, 222
Little, J. A. G., 76
Long, Rev., 227
Lousada (C.M.S.), 227
Luff, Captain, 105

"Maccaroni", 127-28
Macartney, J. A., 97, 99
Macdonald, N., 86
MacDonald, R., 182
MacGillivray (M'Gillivray) J., 214, 216, 220
MacIntyre, 125-26
MacKenzie, K., 131
Madaman, 161, 175
Mahoney, M. Const., 137, 140-41
Malgana, 127-28
Mama, 156
Manggeripi, 117-18
Manimba, 175
Manjidbuwu, 127
Marabula, Charlie, 161
Marada, 174
Marakite (or Marimiti), 118-19
Marsh, Captain H. R., 130, 222, 225
Marshall, Alan, 4, 204
Marshall, D., 94, 221
Masson, E. R., 131, 212, 225
Mathers, 92
Mau, 161-62, 166-69, 171, 175, 185
Mauwunboi, 158, 161-62, 167-69, 174
McCarthy, F. D., 206
McColl, Const., 134-35, 139-44, 146-52, 164, 167, 173, 180-81, 226-27
McCrae, Captain, 217
McEwen, J., 185
McKinlay, John, 100, 221
McMinn, G. R., 80, 130, 131, 222, 225
McNamara, M., Const., 105, 223
"Mickey", 170
Millar, G. and E., 115
Minaidji, 117, 119
"Minicartoo", 175
Mirera, 136-40, 145, 164-66, 227
Mitjindi, 57
Moiitbuk, 127-28
Monju, 161
Moore, T., 100, 131
Morey, Const., 137, 140-41, 143, 180
Morgan (master's mate), 123
Morgan, D. A., 217
Mountford, C. P., 205
Mugawaldboi, 54
Mulumi, 151
Mundugrul (Wonderful), 142
Munggeraui, 154, 158-61
Murdock, G. P., 207
Murigu, 160, 169

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

Nagaia, 161-62, 166-69, 171, 185
Naminjaragu, 160, 169
Nanjin, 161-62, 169, 171, 174-75
Naradjin, 158, 161-62
Nash, Chas. W., 219
Neidjalma, 156, 159, 161-62, 166-69, 171, 174-75, 185
Ngimbit (Paddy), 155
Nigashi, 170, 175
Nome, 174-75
Noming (or "Nikolo"), 167-68
Nungijin, George, 169

Oesing, 81, 83, 218-19
O'Flaherty, L. S., 223
Oppen, E. A., 208, 220

Paddy (tracker), 142-43, 146, 148
Paddy Stott (police boy), 157
Partridge, Harry, 166
Peel, G., 215
Percy, Heber, 99
Perkins (Min. for Interior), 136, 181
Permain party, 130, 131, 225
Perriman, Rev., 150
Pfitzner, C., 86
Phillips, G. W., 223
Pinder, H., 78
Pobasson, 19, 72-73
Poi Nando, 80-81
Price, 129
Price (Gov. Res.), 225
Price, A. Grenfell, 204, 208-9, 220
Pupadjin, 57

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 206-7
Randell, 99
Rimba (Reimba), 80-81, 218-19
Ringgidj, 160
Rob, 70
Robinson, Captain George W., 217
Robinson, F. O. ("Buffalo Bill"), 69, 76, 78, 82-84, 86, 92-93, 95-97, 114, 117, 120, 126-28, 130, 217, 219, 222, 225
Robinson, Harry, 95
Roel, George, 215
Ron, 166
Roper Tommy (tracker), 142
Ross, I. Clunies, 229
Roruma, Willy, 224

Salloo, 72
Sam (police boy), 151
Samso, 70
Samsun (or Tomson), 70
Saunders, 92
Scott, E., 204
Scott (Gov. Res.), 221, 225
Searcy, Alfred, 4, 69, 73, 78-82, 84-85, 87, 89, 98-99, 114-119, 205, 207, 209, 212, 214-16, 218, 220, 222, 224-26
Setzler, F., 205
Sharp, 108
Shellabear, W. G., 214
Simpson, Colin, 4, 204
Smiler (interpreter), 130
Smith (C.M.S.), 228
Solomon, 169
Solomon, J. M., 221
Solomon (party), 96
Spence (?) party, 221
Spencer (or Rodney Claude Spenser), 99, 101, 103, 132, 225, 226
Spencer, Sir Baldwin, 5, 205, 212, 230
Stokes, J. L., 208, 214, 220
Strangman, Dr Cecil L., 89, 102-3, 109, 208, 211, 213, 223
Stretton, Police Supt., 168, 180
Stuart, John McDougal, 221

Tanaka, See Danaka
"Taureeyununya", 175
Taylor (C.M.S.), 228
Teilala, 112-14
Thom, Captain, 132
Thomson, Dr Donald, 5, 20, 152, 183-87, 189-90, 192, 205, 207, 209-14, 223-25, 227-29
Tinda, 158
Tindale, N. B., 207
Tingha de Ilhans, 117-18, 120
Tomkinson, S., 95, 221
Traynor, F., 134-36, 164, 173, 179, 226-27

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

Trimbrik, 157
Tuckiar, See Dagiar

Uhr, D'Arcy, 99, 115-16
Ulambu, 151
Urcur, 128

Waidjung, 175
Walaliba, 54-55
Walker, G. (party), 93-94, 132, 221
Wallace, A. R., 59-60, 65, 214-15
Walton, Captain, 75
Wandi Wandi, 117-20, 127-29
Warburton, Carl, 4, 204, 212, 226
Warikilia, 70
Warindja, 160
Warner, W. Lloyd (Professor), 4, 17, 73, 187, 205-12, 215-16, 230
Warren, Rev., 105-6, 134-37, 142, 162, 227
Waterman, 206
Watson, John, 99
Watson, Rev. J., 108
Webb, Rev. T. T., 108, 171, 173, 205-6, 230
Weddell, Lieut.-Col. R. H., 136, 180
Wells, Judge, 139-41, 143-52, 170-74
White, Dr G., 103, 108, 223
Wildey, W. B., 216
Wingfield, T. H., 117, 126-28, 217, 225
Wilkins, Sir Hubert, 105-6, 223-24
Wilkinson, P. T., 94, 221
Wilson, T. B., 208, 220
Wirz, P., 215
Wolbadja, 52-53, 56-57
Wonadjei, 42
Wonggu, 156, 165-66, 174, 228
Wood, G. A., 204
Woolaware, 168
Wright, 165-66, 227
Wulambi, 161
Wuninga, 169

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

Blyth River, 19, 98
Adelaide, 95, 129, 213-15, 217, 220-21, 225
Adelaide River, 2, 29, 221
Alligator Rivers (South and East), 2, 77, 91, 96, 98, 100, 130, 221-22
Alor (Allor), 40, 50
Alowangeewan, See Alligator Rivers
Amboyna (Amboina), 65
Ambu Kambu, 45
Arafura Country, 19, 98-99, 101, 200
Arafura Sea, 2, 3, 15, 50, 202
Aru (Aroe), 40, 50, 54-55, 58, 65, 87, 119
Arnhem Bay, 16-17, 37, 42, 50, 56, 64, 81, 93, 96-98, 103, 114, 125, 136, 161, 211, 226
Arnhem, Cape, 3, 37, 69, 93, 96, 159, 161, 202, 224
Auvergne, 99

Badu, 19, 62, 66-68, 215
Bagot Road, 29, 131
Balboi, 37
Bamundju, 57
Banalbi, 37
Banda (Bundana) Is., 50, 58, 65, 121
Bandei, 53
Banks Is., 66
Baraku, 51
Barkilumba, 107
Barrow, Cape, 135, 175
Batalumbu, 45
Bathurst I., 3, 19, 27, 31, 39, 70, 123
Bennett Bay, 96, 156
Beswick, 2
Bickerton I., 2, 94, 106, 137, 142, 156-7, 165, 199, 228
Blue Mud Bay (eastern Arnhem Land), 7, 19-20, 32, 34, 36, 42, 50, 64, 92-94, 96, 98, 101, 123, 133-34, 136, 159-60, 208, 211, 221-23
Blue Mud Bay (western Arnhem Land), 52

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

103

Boni, 72
Borneo, 60
Borroloola, 27, 105, 212
Bouru, 60
Boutong (Boetoeng), 34
Bowen Strait (Port Bowen), 50, 52, 69, 78, 82-85, 88, 97, 117-18, 120-22, 225-26
Bradshaw Inlet, 224
Bralgu, 10, 39
Bremer Is. (once Melville I.), 2
Brogden, Cape, 116-17, 121 127, 129, 205
Bromby Isles, 72
Brown Strait, 112
Buccaneer's Archipelago, 75
Buckingham Bay, 98
Buffalo Bay, 114
Bulatjeisa, 50
Bulman, 202
Burney I., 156

Cadell Strait, 50, 52
Caledon Bay, 5, 16, 19-20, 42, 50-51, 101, 103-6, 109, 133-34, 136, 141, 152, 156-62, 164-176, 178, 180-83, 185, 208-9, 223-24, 227-28
Canberra, 152, 179, 202, 209, 225, 227, 229
Castlereagh Bay, 96, 98, 102, 115, 202
Cato River, 37, 198
Celebes, 14, 28, 34, 40, 42-3, 45, 50, 59, 67, 82
Ceram (Seram, or Goram), 65, 121
Ceram Laut, 65
Channel I., 199
Cliff Point, 78
Cobourg Peninsula, 11, 69-70, 133, 160, 216, 230
Connexion I., 2, 157
Crocodile Islands, See Milingimbi
Croker I., 2, 27, 50, 69, 76, 84, 95-6, 102, 117, 126, 129, 133, 191, 193, 212-13, 217, 230
Cunningham Islands, 93

Dagu, 33
Dakarma (Elcho I.), 52
Daly River, 3
Dalwul'lura, 51
Danangigi I., 53
Daneia, 41
Dangarpara, 51
Darudja, 52
Darwin (Palmerston; Port Darwin), 2, 3, 19-21, 25, 29, 53-54, 69, 73-74, 84, 86, 88-89, 91-92, 94, 96-97, 105, 117, 119, 121, 123, 126, 129, 131, 135, 136-37, 142, 145-47, 151-52, 160-62, 164-67, 170, 172, 174, 179, 181, 185-86, 193, 196, 199, 217, 221, 225-28
De Courcy Head, 86
Deimundu, 51
Djadja I., 53
Djalargitjbi, 51
Djamaluna I., 58
Djauwuldjauwul I. (Djowadjowa; Melville I. ?), 50, 53
Djelalapu, See Elcho I.
Don, Cape, 52, 86
Drummond Head, 88
Duldji, 37
Dumbul, 51
Dundas Strait, 216
Dundina, 51
Duwonmilingwu, 32

East India Archipelago (East Indies; Indonesia), ii, 16, 28, 34, 35, 40, 45, 49-55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 65-6, 74-5, 78, 87, 212
Elcho I., 2, 19, 32, 34, 50, 52-53, 93, 103, 105, 107-8, 125-26, 136, 155, 186, 191, 200, 223
Elsey, 99
English Company Islands (Daitjuguru,) 19, 50, 52, 56-7, 155, 160, 199
Entrance I., 114, 116
Evelyn Ponds, 96

Fanny Bay, 131, 139, 152, 162, 168, 181, 227

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

INDEX

Flores, 60
Fort Dundas, 91, 212, 216

Garden Point, 212
Getanata (New Guinea), 65
Glyde Inlet, 96, 98
Glyde River, 31
Goulburn Islands (South and North), iii, 2, 4, 7, 12, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 50, 52, 70, 76, 80, 82, 95, 102-3, 107-8, 115, 123, 125, 129, 160, 167-9, 191, 194, 212, 221
Gove, 21, 194, 198
Goyder River, 97-8, 102, 115
Grey, Cape, 227-8
Grimble Bay, 136
Grindall Bay, 140
Groote Eylandt, 2, 7, 10, 16, 20-1, 23, 27, 39, 42, 45, 50, 52, 64, 66, 94, 103, 105-8, 133-39, 142, 150, 156-7, 159, 161-2, 164, 180, 190-1, 193-4, 199, 208, 210, 212, 223, 227, 228
Gulf of Carpentaria, 2, 41, 60, 75, 82, 85-6, 92, 97, 120, 132, 136, 204, 216, 221
Gulf of Van Diemen, 83, 221
Gundingari I., 58
Guranura, 37, 138

Hall Point, 92
Hardy I., 114
Hodgson Downs, 99
Howard I., 126

Indonesia, See East India Archipelago
Inglis I., 93

Jamanga I., 37
Japan, 21, 174, 187
Jarinjan, 36
Java, 53
Jikari, 37
Jinuwi, 37
Jitara I., 50, 51, 53
Junction Bay, 102, 131

Kahlin Beach, 131
Kaiilji, 51
Kailbringa, 51
Kalidju, 51
Kalugubudu, 54
Kamadumul, 51
Kambu'basi, 57
Kambu'biru, 57
Kambu'dadi, 58
Kambu'guda, 57
Kambu'kalasu, 57
Kambu'malagu, 54, 56, 57
Kambu'maleiju, 57
Kambu'tumbu, 57
Kantaru, 57
Karei Rocks, 45
Katherine, 3, 96
Katherine Waters, 94
Ke (Kei, Kai, or Ewab), 65, 84, 86
Keidjiri I., 53
King River, 4, 7, 27, 98, 102, 131, 153, 186, 213, 224
Kisar (Kissa), 80
Knocker's Bay, 216
Koolpinyah, 29
Kupang (Koepang), 40, 50, 58
Kwailinga, 51

Laga I., 53
Lal, See Goulburn Islands
Lant'djau I., 53
Larramah, 29
Leileiia (Leilcii), 51, 58, 59
Leti (Liti), 50, 51, 53, 56, 80
Limbadjapara, See Wessel Islands
Limbadjaua, 51
Limbumitera (Blue Mud Bay, western Arnhem Land), 52
Limbu'timbarun (Limbu'katuwung), 57
Liverpool River, 4, 7, 26-7, 31, 96, 98, 102, 114, 153, 186, 191, 198, 221

Macarthur River (McArthur River), 82, 85, 121
Macassar, 11, 17, 28, 37-38, 40, 50-52, 54, 56-63, 67, 69, 73, 74, 75, 77-8, 81-2, 85-7, 88, 93, 95, 210, 214, 215, 216, 217

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

103

Madada, 53
Maikoor (Maykor, or Mukar) I., 54, 55
Maindjalnga, 37
Mainoru, 2, 106, 202
Makarngu, See New Guinea
Malay, 16, 18, 24, 35, 36, 42, 44, 51, 54, 72, 74-7, 85-6, 89, 207, 210-11, 213, 215-17, 220
Malay Bay, 26, 32, 102, 117, 120
Malay Point, 216
Malay Road, 19, 52, 72, 154
Mallison I., 81, 103
Manangu, 46
Manasi, 2
Manbulloo, 29
Mandul, 118
Mangalei, 51
Manggarei 58
Manggarita (Goulburn Is.), 52
Manila, 85, 97
Maranboy, 2
Maranggauwa, 37
Mararigа, 51
Marchinbar I., 202
Marega, 40, 216
Maria I., 226
Marungga (Moorsonga) I., 52, 186
Mary River, 2, 221
Mataranka, 29
Matjulbi, 36
McLeod's Landing, 132
Melville Bay (Libabandria), 16, 42, 50-52, 81, 88, 93, 96, 103, 111, 112, 121, 129, 161, 202
Melville I., 3, 19, 26-27, 31, 39, 53, 70, 76, 83-4, 86, 114, 123, 160, 169, 170, 174, 212, 216, 220
Milingimbi, 2-5, 19, 20-1, 29, 31, 37, 50, 52, 93, 101, 107-8, 135-36, 138, 143, 146, 150, 154, 157-8, 160, 162, 165-7, 171, 175, 186-7, 191, 194, 210, 221, 224, 227-8
Moore's Bay, 127
Mornington I., 66
Mount Delight, 19, 98
Mount Norris Bay, 96, 128
Mudilnga, See Badu
Mulgrave I., See Badu
Mysol, 65

Nainingarar, 51
Nalbinja, 51
Naninga, 51
Newbald, Cape, 81
New Guinea, 2, 19, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67, 215
Nicol I., 156
Njumanga (Jumanga), 50

Oenpelli, iii, 2, 4, 7, 18, 26, 29, 31, 104, 107-8, 132, 136, 191, 194
Ojootambanoonoo, See Bowen Strait
"Owenpelly" (or Umberlamyon), See Oenpelli

Palmerston, See Darwin
Panumbunga, 54
Papua, 65; See New Guinea
Pine Creek, 92, 94, 226
Pirindjingar, 51
Pobassoo I., 37
Port Bradshaw (Jelangbara), 10, 15-16, 32-3, 41-5, 50, 64, 104, 105, 109, 112, 159-60, 170, 175, 227
Port Darwin, See Darwin
Port Essington, 26, 31, 50, 52, 69, 73, 75-6, 78, 80-1, 91-6, 117, 123, 126-7, 129-30, 133, 190, 212, 214, 216-17, 220, 222, 225
Port Langdon (Djarakbi), 52
Punumbungu, 51
Pupabaidju, 51
Putalambu, 58

Queensland, 95, 99

Raffles Bay, 69, 73-4, 91, 212, 214
Ranguwa, 58
Rocky Bay, 111, 112
Roper Bar, 32
Roper River, 2-3, 82, 93, 96-7, 101, 105, 107-8, 134, 152, 178, 180, 182-3, 190, 194, 221, 223
Roper Valley, 2

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

INDEX

Rose River, 3-4, 7, 32, 37, 191
Roti, 50, 84

Salayer (Salajar, Saleier), 34
Salwatty, 65
Sandy Creek, 7
Shield(s), Cape, 50, 51, 93, 157, 161, 208
Sims I., 80
Singapore, 93
Sir Edward Pellew Islands, 41, 75, 86, 132, 212
Sir Rodericks Pocket, 97
South Australia, ii, 205, 207, 209, 214-15, 225
St. David's Bay, 165
Stewart, Cape, 4, 7, 50, 92, 186, 213
Stingkibadu, 57
Sydney, 135, 205

Tanakeke (Danagigi), 53
Taninbar (Tanimara), 50, 65
Ternate, 65
Thursday I., 27, 135, 186, 212
Tidore, 65
Timor, 40, 60, 80, 212
Timor Laoet (Timor Laut), 40, 50, 53
Timor Sea, 15
Tompkinson Range, 96
Tompkinson River, 98
Torres Strait Islands, ii, 19, 27, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 129, 135, 215
Tor Rock (Mt.), 11, 77, 130, 225
Trepang Bay, 75, 76
Trial Bay, 16, 37, 42, 50, 51, 111, 156-7, 159-62, 165, 228
Truant I., 199, 202

Union Reef (or Town), 92, 94
Unmooragee, See Alligator River

Vanderlin Islands, 42, 132, 212
Vernon Islands, 84
Victoria River, 99

Waigiou, 65
Wainginarar, 51
Wanggarang, 128
Wara, 51, 58
Wark, 119
Warung, 51
Wearyan River, 106
Wellesley Islands, 66
Wessel Islands, 2, 21, 39, 50, 54-5, 66, 112, 155, 194, 202, 229
Wetter (Weti, Wetar), 40, 50, 51
Wiala (Wyalla), 52
Wilberforce, Cape, 19, 37, 46, 50-52, 72, 93, 121, 154-5
Wilton River, 96, 97
Winchelsea I., 2
Wirwa Billabong, 159, 161
Woodah I., 2, 50, 51, 104, 109, 133, 134-154, 156, 161, 180, 183, 209, 223
Woolen River, 19, 20
Woolner River, 92, 129
Woolwonga, 2
Wopalinga I. (or Wopalma), 42, 159

Yirrkalla, iii, 2, 3, 21, 37, 51, 66, 111, 112, 142, 154, 161-2, 187, 191, 194, 198-9, 210, 228
York, Cape, 65, 95

GENERAL INDEX

Aborigines, alleged similarity with Mukar people, 54-55
physical characteristics of, 6, 18, 24, 25, 30, 210
adjustment to alien contact, i, ii, 12-13, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, 38, 40, 68, 70-71, 109, 178, 184, 185, 188, 190, 195, 200, 201
alcohol, and Aborigines, 17, 18, 22, 27-28, 29, 46-47, 57, 70, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 102, 110, 111, 114, 124, 127-128, 133, 212, 213, 214, 217
Arnhem Land, extent of, 1, 3, 4

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

000

contrasts between east and west, 7-12, 14, 18-19, 23, 28, 29, 30, 63, 69-70, 104, 123-124, 125, 133, 153, 189, 197
Arnhem Landers, origin of, 10, 32, 37
Australian National Research Council, ii.

Badu, use of term, 66-67, 68
Baijini, 15, 18, 33-39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 190
colour of, 15, 34, 35, 37
origin of, 34, 35
Balamumu, 7, 109, 134, 157
Balanda, use of term, 53, 57, 59
bases, military, in Arnhem Land, 21, 22, 29, 91, 154, 194, 198
Beings, Ancestral or Spirit, i, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 64, 199
arriving by sea, 10, 11, 15, 32, 33, 34, 36
buffalo hunters, 2, 3, 4, 26, 29, 30, 31, 100, 104, 117, 131, 191, 212, 225-26
Bugis, 40, 45, 54, 60, 65, 73-74, 214

carved figures, 12, 61, 62-63
cattle stations, iii, 2, 19, 25, 26, 29, 31 97-98, 99, 101, 108, 127, 132, 171, 191, 200
cave paintings, 6, 99, 100
ceremonies, of Aborigines, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 21, 41, 46, 47, 61, 62, 67, 110, 155
of Indonesians, 16-17, 41, 46, 47, 61, 62, 80
Chinese, on Arnhem Land coast, 31, 69, 97, 212, 222
Christianity involving Europeanisation, 21, 192
Church Missionary Society, iii, 2, 20, 108, 136, 182, 191, 199, 205
See also Missions
clans, 6, 7, 8, 12, 22, 23, 25, 32, 36, 54, 61, 62, 101, 133, 211
cloth, woven by Indonesians or Baijini, 15, 16, 35, 36, 38, 43
control, indigenous forms of, affected by contact, 13, 20, 23, 24, 27, 186, 195
courts, law, 119, 120, 129, 131-32, 135, 136-52, 157, 164, 166-76, 178, 181, 227
culture, indigenous, i, 6, 7-13, 33, 186, 192, 197, 210
indigenous, effects of contact on, i, ii, 2, 11, 12-13, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 38, 45, 61-63, 68, 69, 133, 153, 163, 175, 184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 192, 195, 196, 197, 201, 211
customs officials, 50, 61, 69, 70, 74, 76-90, 108, 110, 116, 117, 120, 215, 226

dead, beliefs concerning, 10, 66, 67, 68
indigenous disposal of, 16, 46, 55, 61, 62, 93, 103, 116, 118, 149, 161
dependence of Aborigines on aliens, 24, 196
disease, Aborigines' attitude towards, 25, 100
introduction of by non-Aboriginals, 25, 30-31, 75, 77, 78, 87, 102, 103, 125, 208, 211, 213
Djanggawul, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 32, 33, 64
documentary material, use of, i, 14, 72, 73, 86, 114, 132, 199, 205, 214
drawings, 6, 51, 59, 65
dreams, Aboriginal, 154-155
drift from Reserves, 26, 29-30
dua, See Moieties
Dutch on Arnhem Land coast, 1, 19, 28, 68, 92, 199, 204

economy of Arnhem Landers, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 21, 22-24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 44, 57, 62-63, 68, 70, 81, 102, 109, 110, 111, 124, 188, 192, 195-197, 199, 201, 213
education, 183, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201
elephants, first seen by Arnhem Landers, 51
employment of Aborigines, 16, 19, 21,

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

INDEX

23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 42, 43, 45, 51, 52-53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 68, 70, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 95-96, 99, 102, 123-24, 128, 129, 137-39, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 167, 168, 169, 171, 189, 194, 196, 197, 199, 212, 214, 215, 217, 227
Europeans, relations with Aborigines, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 52, 69, 70, 81, 82, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91-107, 109, 113, 116, 123-33, 152, 160, 166, 171, 175-76, 178-80, 193, 194
exploration in Arnhem Land, 1, 2, 4, 19, 28, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 108, 116, 130, 189, 200, 221

fertility, 9, 10, 11, 30
feuds, 6, 22, 25, 30, 161, 211
field work, i, ii, iii, 5, 187, 198, 205-206
food, varieties of, 3, 6, 8-9, 30, 36, 45, 58, 59
Fijians, on Arnhem Land coast, 198

gardens, cultivated by Baijini, 15, 35-36, 37, 38, 43
gold, in Arnhem Land, 92, 108, 200
greed, as motive in Aboriginal attacks, 109, 111, 114, 122, 130, 133, 157, 163, 172, 176, 181

hanging of Aborigines, 120-21, 129, 172
horizon of Arnhem Landers, widening, i, 38-39, 63, 64-71, 188
hostility, between Aborigines and non-Aborigines, ii, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 29, 42, 47, 70, 73, 77, 81, 83, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103-4, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110-76, 179, 182, 189, 191, 213, 216, 224

Indonesia, Aborigines settling in, 17, 28, 54, 56-57, 59, 75, 215, 217
Aborigines travelling to, ii, 17, 28, 50-54, 56-61, 63, 69, 74, 93, 214, 215, 216
Indonesians, effects of on Aboriginal culture, 16, 17, 18, 22, 24, 28, 44, 45, 46, 57, 61-63, 67, 207, 210-11
first arrival on Arnhem Land coast, 1, 15, 28, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 72, 73
in relation to Baijini, 15, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43
period usually spent on coast, 15, 43, 46, 49, 87
prohibited from trading on coast, 17, 28, 69, 70, 87, 89, 90, 104
relations with Aborigines, 17, 18-19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 40, 41, 42, 49, 52, 68, 73, 75-76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 90, 94, 98, 110, 111, 112-22, 123, 129, 153, 176, 188, 189, 190, 209-10, 213, 216
relations with Europeans, 52, 57, 59, 61, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74-90, 91, 95, 108, 110, 123, 189, 216
initiation, 9, 11, 129

Japanese, prohibited from visiting coast, 21, 23
relations with Aborigines, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 37, 113, 122, 141, 153-76, 178, 186, 189, 190, 210, 211, 212
jiritja, See Moieties

killing, of Aborigines, 19, 76, 93, 94, 101-102, 113, 114, 119-20, 128, 133, 225, 226
of Chinese, 97, 222
of Europeans, 19, 20, 93, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 109, 111, 117, 123-33, 134-52, 163, 164, 167, 179, 181, 182, 217, 225, 226
of Indonesians, 19, 76, 101, 110-22, 163
of Japanese, 19, 20, 111, 134, 141, 156-62, 166-76, 179, 181, 182, 189, 227, 228
knives, manufacture of, 16, 43, 44
varieties of, 44, 47-48
Kunapipi, 11-12, 32-33

linguistic groups, 7, 8, 50, 55, 109

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

Macassans, See Indonesians
Macassar, use of term, 40, 56, 59, 67
magic, 6
Malays, See Indonesians
maps, prepared by Aborigines, 37, 50, 112
matchlock (gun), 47, 48
Methodist Overseas Mission, iii, 2, 66, 108, 168, 191, 198, 205
minerals in Arnhem Land, 200, 202, 223
missionaries, relations with Aborigines, 136, 145, 151, 156, 165, 175, 178, 180, 181, 183, 187, 191, 193, 196-98, 200, 203
Missions, established on coast, 20-21, 24, 26, 52, 106, 108, 125, 134, 165, 177, 182-83, 190-94, 197, 223, 228
moieties, 7, 8, 10, 11, 32, 41, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66
money, introduced, 16, 45
musical instruments, 46, 63
mythology, 9, 10, 11, 13, 28, 32, 33, 34, 64, 199

names, affected by contact, 28, 34, 43, 66

objects, sacred, 10, 11, 12, 13, 32, 33, 67
oil, search for, 107, 108, 126, 191, 200

pacificatory expedition, 20, 134, 136, 152, 165, 179, 182, 183, 190
pearlers, on Arnhem Land coast, 1, 15, 21, 23, 27, 31, 42, 70, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81, 84-88, 95, 104, 106, 110, 123, 125, 158, 159, 160, 173, 177, 186, 199, 201, 213
pearlshell, gathered by Aborigines, 10, 16, 43, 45, 78, 86, 88, 95, 154
police, expeditions by, 20, 26, 76, 99, 100, 101-2, 104, 105, 107, 108, 116, 117, 120-21, 124, 127, 131, 133, 134-35, 137, 140-51, 157, 175, 180, 181, 200, 209, 223, 224, 228
policy, native, ii, 134, 184-86, 190, 192, 196-97, 199, 202-3
polygyny, 25, 211
population, Aboriginal, decline in, 2, 7, 18, 25, 26, 30-31, 101-102, 125, 189, 211
Aboriginal, of Arnhem Land, 4
Portuguese on Arnhem Land coast, 1, 19, 28, 68, 98, 199
pottery, made on Arnhem Land coast, 15, 16, 43-44
praus, description of, 40, 49, 79-80
pre-Macassans, See Baijini
prostitution, 17, 18, 27, 47, 77, 102, 137, 186, 213, 214

religion, Aboriginal, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 24, 32, 33, 45, 188, 192
of Indonesians, 17, 45-46, 47, 49, 72
Reserves, Aboriginal, 1, 2, 3, 20, 106, 152, 172, 174, 177-78, 179, 185, 186, 189, 190, 200, 202, 210, 224
rice, planting of, 36, 37
ritual, sacred, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 32
Roman Catholic Mission Stations, 31, 190

segregation of Aborigines, 183-184, 186, 200
sexual relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals, 17-18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28-29, 31, 47, 70, 77, 102, 103, 110, 111, 112, 125, 131, 138-39, 151, 153, 168, 173, 213
social organisation, 7, 8, 12, 22, 25, 47, 112, 176, 183, 206-7
songs, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 28, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 44, 50, 51, 54, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 188, 210
steel, introduction of, 16
stone dwellings, of Baijini, 15, 35
strangers washed ashore, 64-65, 68, 69
subsections, 8

totems, 8, 12, 32, 62
trading, between Aborigines and Europeans, 20, 22-23, 28, 52, 70, 88, 109, 124, 125, 151, 177, 178,

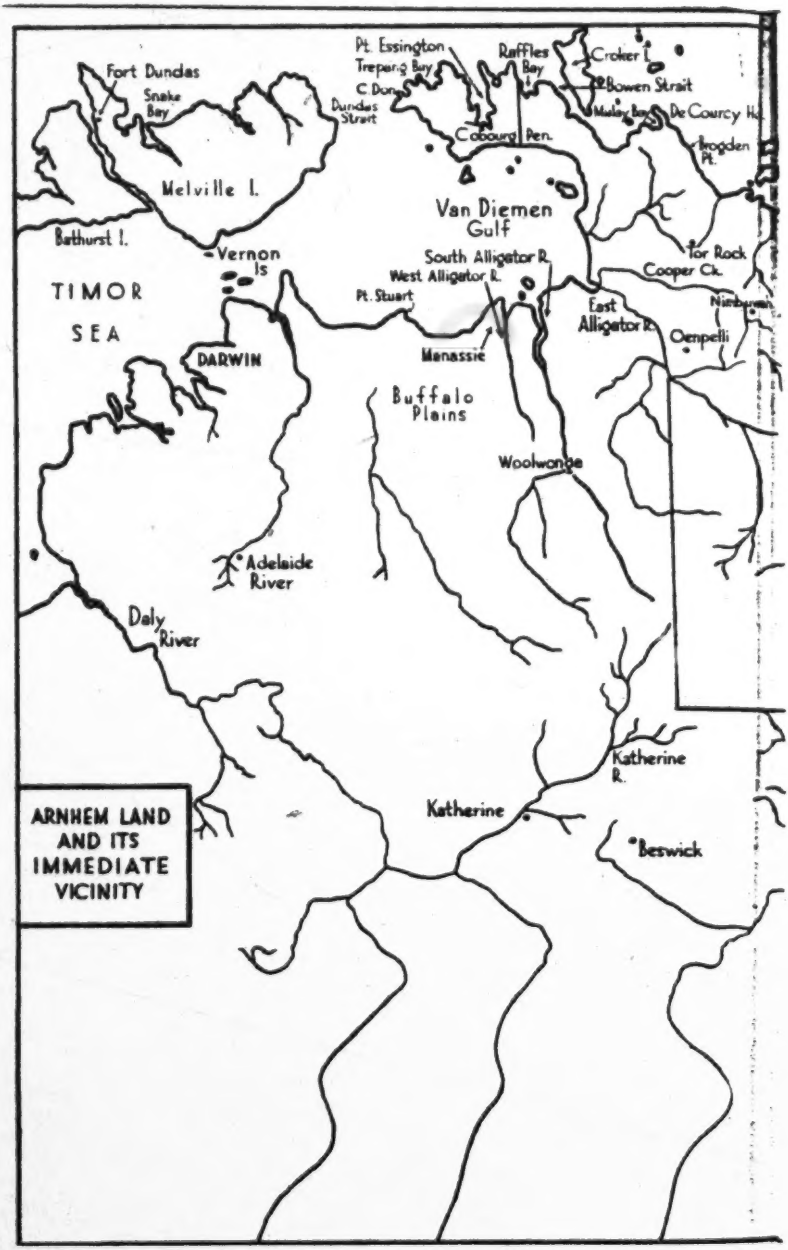
8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

INDEX

188, 193, 199, 212, 213
between Aborigines and Indonesians, ii, 15, 16, 17, 22, 28, 34, 35, 38, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47, 62, 63, 65, 68, 70, 73, 77, 78, 81, 83, 86, 88, 110, 111, 113, 122, 124, 135, 178, 188-89, 208
between Aborigines and Japanese, 19, 20, 21, 22-23, 27, 28, 31, 153, 154, 156, 177, 178, 193, 199, 213
trading partners, 17, 18, 43, 47, 70, 111
trepang, gathered by Aborigines, 43, 44-45, 78, 86, 167, 168, 227
trepangers on Arnhem Land coast, 15, 19, 23, 35, 41, 42, 52, 66, 70, 72-73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 85-88, 95, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 121, 123, 173, 177, 182, 186, 199, 201, 213, 216, 224
tribes, intercourse between, 4, 6, 7-8, 26, 133
University of Sydney, Department of Anthropology, ii-iii
Research Committee, iii
venereal diseases, 18, 24-25, 30, 31, 87, 102, 103, 125, 208, 213
war, effects of on Aborigines, 21, 24, 29, 190, 193-97
women, in sacred ritual, 10, 11
interference with, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28, 47, 70, 94, 102, 103, 110, 111, 112, 124, 131, 133, 138-40, 144, 146-47, 150, 151, 154, 157, 158, 160, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 182, 210, 213, 215
Wulamba group, 7, 8
wuramu "Crook Man", 16-17, 46, 57, 59, 60-61, 62-63

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

102



[End Map (A)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

102

[End Map (B)]